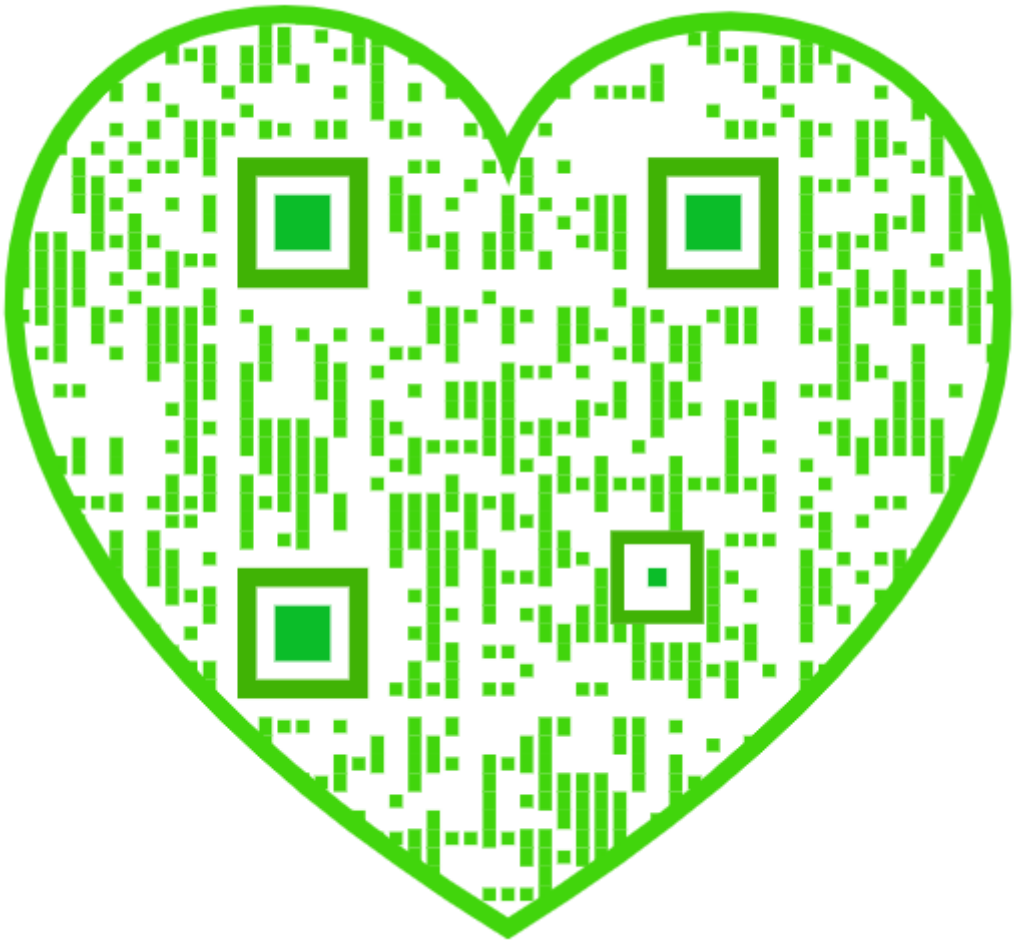

ELEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT

WITH HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT OF OKLAHOMA

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PREFACE

In writing this book, the authors have sought to attain certain definite aims. First, they have endeavored to present government to the young student not as an abstraction, but as a real thing, touching everyday life at many points.

They have tried to arrange their material in accordance with the laws of psychology. That is, they have used many illustrations from everyday experience; they have emphasized particularly the functional rather than the organizational aspects of government; and they have proceeded from the known to the less known, by discussing local government before considering the less familiar functions and structures of state and nation.

By making clear to the pupil some of the great services performed by governments, the authors hope to arouse in him feelings of appreciation, friendliness, and loyalty. With this end in view, unfavorable criticisms have been avoided as far as possible; but no attempt has been made to persuade the pupil into the false view that our local and general systems of government are perfect, and occasionally it has been found desirable to indicate possibility of improvement. On the whole, however, it has seemed best to leave constructive as well as destructive criticism for the consideration of mature minds, and to use every means to impress upon the pupil the value and benefits of democratic government.

The authors are indebted to a number of their colleagues in the University of Oklahoma, and to several other friends, for helpful criticisms and suggestions. Especial thanks are due to Mrs. Miriam E. Oatman-Blachly, to whose collaboration the book owes much of both form and substance.

The authors wish to express also their indebtedness to Mr. C. W. Shannon, Director of the Oklahoma Geological Survey, for his generosity in furnishing many photographs for illustration; to Professor W. L. Blizzard, of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, and to several other friends, for valuable pictures; and to the American Museum of Natural History, New York, for the picture reproduced on page 60.

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PART ONE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

The General Need of Rules and Officers. — When people form a literary society or an athletic association or any other organization for the purpose of doing certain work, they adopt rules to guide them, and select officers to see that the rules are carried out and that the work is done. By long experience men have discovered that when a large number of persons are working together, unless they have some guiding rules and officers with authority to enforce these rules, all will be confusion and nothing will be accomplished. There must be a president of the organization, for example, with authority to keep its meetings orderly and to decide which member "has the floor," or is entitled to speak. There must be a treasurer, with authority to collect dues and to pay bills. Perhaps there are other officers, with different powers. This depends, of course, on the kind of work which the organization is undertaking. It is necessary for all the members to be guided by the officers and to keep the rules. If they do not do this — if they refuse to pay dues, or engage in fist-fights during business meetings in spite of all that the president can say — the association will certainly be a failure. Obedience to authority is absolutely essential in order that any organization may carry on its work successfully.

The need of rules, and of strict regard for the rules, is naturally greater and greater as the number of people concerned is greater, and the work more complicated. An athletic association in one school might have a few simple rules and two or three officers; but if a league of athletic associations is formed with a branch in every school in the county, there must be a large number of rules and many officers of various ranks, such as president of the county association, a chairman of each branch association, central and local treasurers, corresponding secretaries, perhaps vice-chairmen, and members of a board of directors. To make the association a success, it would be necessary for every branch to follow its rules or obey its authority.

In order to make sure that the rules of any association or league will be followed by the members, it is customary to establish penalties or punishments for disobedience. Thus, if the Lincoln Grammar School Athletic Association has a rule requiring all members to attend its monthly meetings, absence may be penalized by a fine of ten cents. The breaking of other rules may mean larger fines or suspension or even expulsion from the association.

Why Government is Necessary. — This makes it clear to us why government is necessary in every nation, state, county, and city. Each of these is composed of a great many people who wish to do certain things together, such as building a navy, educating young people, taking care of the poor, establishing a system of waterworks, and countless other undertakings. They must have rules, or laws, and officers to carry them out; otherwise they can accomplish nothing. Just as in the case of a private association, penalties are needed in order to insure that the laws will be obeyed.

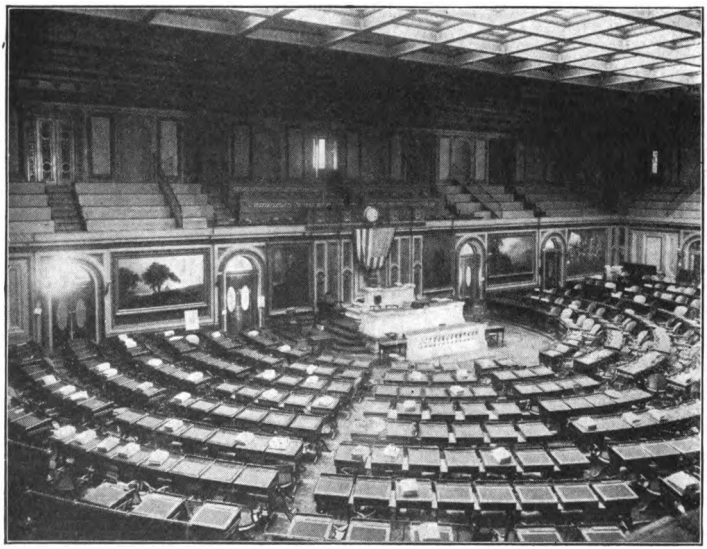
Democratic Government. — When people adopt rules or laws in regard to things which concern them all — that is, public affairs — and provide for officers to perform different duties in accordance with these rules, they are said to organize a government. **Government is a system by means of which public work is done.** When a government has been organized by the people of any country, according to the above description, it is called a democratic government or a **democracy**. The United States has this form of government.

Autocratic Government. — Sometimes the rules by which people are governed and the officials who carry out the rules are not chosen by the people according to their own will, but are forced upon them by a man, or a group of men, with very little interest in the wishes of the people but a great deal of interest in personal advantage. Such a government is called an autocratic government or an **autocracy**. Citizens of the United States, and the most progressive people in all civilized countries, agree that this is an undesirable form of government. They believe that, since every one is concerned in public affairs, it is not just and right for a few individuals to conduct these matters for their own private benefit.

Of course, the people who live under an autocratic government are always very much greater in number than those who rule them, and could easily overthrow the autocracy and set up a democracy if they would all work together. As education and enlightenment are spreading throughout the world, several nations are doing this.

Representative Government. — It is impossible for all the people in a city, a state, or a nation to vote on every law that is to be passed, or on every single clerk, stenographer, policeman, and fireman who is needed to carry on public

work. They cannot spare the time from their business to investigate every proposed law or every individual's qualifications. Therefore nearly all democracies to-day are **representative democracies.** This means that the people elect certain individuals to represent them — that is, to act in their place — and to vote upon laws according to their



Chamber of the House of Representatives in the Capitol at Washington. Here representatives from every part of the country meet to carry on public business.

best judgment of what the people need and desire. The people elect also some of the principal officials, such as members of the school boards, members of the city council, and governor of the state; and allow these elected officials to appoint many subordinate officers, as city superintendents of schools, city health officers, stenographers, secretaries, and many more. This system has two advantages. First:

it saves the people a great deal of time and trouble. Second: it enables the voters, since they have only a few men to elect, to look about for very good ones.

Importance of Supporting the Government. — When a democratic government has once been established, it should be loyally supported by every one, and the laws made by the people or their representatives should be respected. What would be the effect upon our athletic association if all those who had voted against a certain rule should refuse to keep it? We can easily see that in a short time there would be no association at all, or at best merely a weak imitation of one, which could do no real work. Faithful support is essential to the success of any organization; and this is just as true of public organizations, such as state or national governments, as of private ones. We may seek to have laws changed, just as we may try to have rules of our athletic association changed; but until the rules or laws are repealed, they must be obeyed, for without loyalty, obedience, and coöperation, no work can be accomplished.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Name some society or organization to which you belong, and explain its principal rules. What is the use of these rules?
2. What would be the effect upon a school if there were no rules of any kind? What would be the effect if nobody obeyed teachers, principal, or other officers?
3. Suppose firemen refused to obey the chief, laboring men refused to obey the superintendent, football players refused to obey the coach? What would be the consequences?
4. Are rules always agreeable? Does the fact that a rule is unpleasant give persons to whom it applies the right to disobey it? Give reasons for your answer.
5. What methods are used in your school to compel people to obey its rules?

6. What methods are used when persons break public rules, or laws? What is the object of punishment?

7. Give several examples of democratic governments and of autocratic governments. How can it be said that England has a democratic government, although she is ruled by a king?

8. What is meant by saying that a person *represents* a school, or a city, or a state?

9. If you are about to form a county athletic association, will every pupil in the county attend the meeting at which the association is to be organized? Who will attend it? How will these persons be selected?

10. Explain clearly what a representative is expected to do.

11. If you wish a certain bill passed by your state legislature, what members would you ask to work for it? Learn the names of the state senator and the state representative from your district.

12. If you wish the Congress of the United States to pass a bill, to whom would you write? Learn the names of the senators from your state and the representative from your congressional district. Find out exactly what is meant by congressional district.

13. What is loyalty to one's government? Why is it necessary? How can people show loyalty?

14. Can a person be loyal to a government even though he believes that some of its laws and undertakings are wrong? Explain your answer.

15. What should a loyal citizen do in order to help improve the laws that he considers mistaken?

CHAPTER II

THE FUNCTIONS OF MODERN GOVERNMENT

Various Kinds of Public Work. — We have seen that the purpose of government is to perform public work, and it is natural that our next inquiry should be: What kinds of work do governments carry on? We can easily realize that

the answer to this question will vary according to the government that we are considering. We should not expect to find the government of a barbarous country doing work of the same nature as that done by the government of a more advanced nation. There are a few things, however, which are done by practically every government.

National Defense. — The first of these important kinds of work is that of national defense. From the savage tribe to the most highly civilized modern people, we find all national governments endeavoring to prevent and to overcome warlike attacks by other nations, by means of armies, navies, and necessary equipments. Quite often, though not universally, governments prepare not only for defense, but for campaigns of conquest. Preparation for conquest is not a necessary function, and it has led to so much suffering and injustice in the world's history that the greatest problem before modern statesmen is that of devising some plan to make it impossible in the future.

Preserving Internal Order. — A second function which is carried on by nearly all governments is that of preserving internal order. We have all read in history about the deeds of robber barons, and about the wars waged by the knights of the Middle Ages. Even in those times, the existing governments made some attempts to keep order; and to-day most governments are quite successful in doing so. Our own country is still disgraced by occasional riots and lynchings; but as our people become more and more advanced, they will stand firmly behind the governmental authorities and help them to put down all such disorders. Many eminent lawyers and other public-spirited persons are trying to improve our legal systems so that trials may be speedy and guilty individuals may be adequately punished, thus re-

moving the danger that people may become impatient to see criminals punished and may resort to "mob rule." But even though trials are slow and it seems as if the offender is not being brought to justice rapidly, we must not become lawbreakers in order to punish others. As President Woodrow Wilson wrote: "There have been many lynchings, and every one of them has been a blow at the heart of ordered law and humane justice. . . . I can never accept any man as a champion of liberty, either for ourselves or for the world, who does not reverence and obey the laws of our beloved land, whose laws we ourselves have made."

Administration of Justice. — One more type of work which is done by governments everywhere is the administration of justice. This means the punishment of criminals, the endeavor to reform them when this seems possible, the settlement of disputes about property and other matters, and the carrying on of many similar functions.

Other Functions of Government. — To these three main kinds of work modern governments have added many others, only a few of which can be mentioned here for lack of space. It would take several books to describe fully the work done by our own national government, and a whole library to set forth all that is done by the national government, the forty-eight state governments, the city and county governments, and the governments of territories and dependencies. It is impossible, of course, to go into details, but we may glance for a moment at some of the more important things which modern governments are doing.

Care of Special Classes. — The care of special classes of persons who are unable to care for themselves is now quite generally under the control of some branch of government. In this country, it is usually carried on by the governments

of the various states, or perhaps by the counties. Orphan children, imbeciles, insane persons, very old persons who have no means and no relatives to support them, the deaf, the blind, wayward girls and boys whose parents are not able to keep them from doing wrong, persons suffering from certain diseases, such as tuberculosis, — these and other classes of persons are cared for by agencies of the government.

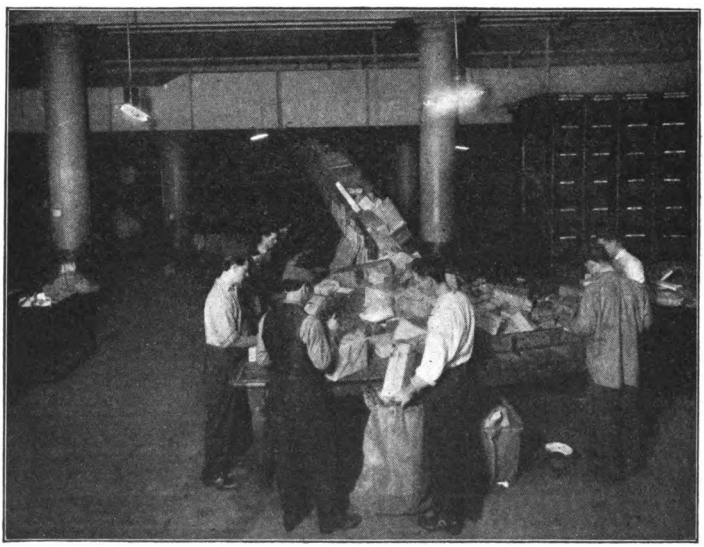
Education. — Education and the promotion of scientific discoveries are matters of interest to all the people in a state or a nation; and all modern governments supervise, control, assist, or encourage them. Our national government maintains a group of officers who compose a Bureau of Education, which collects and publishes material that will be of use to educators and has other important functions; but the actual control over public education is held by the individual states. This is the case for several reasons, one of which is that each state knows what type of education is best suited to its own needs.

Public Health. — The care of the public health is now a matter of governmental control. Nation, state, county, and city coöperate in the endeavor to establish sanitary conditions everywhere, to prevent the spread of disease, and to make every citizen sound, healthy, and vigorous.

Means of Communication. — The provision of means of communication is a very important branch of governmental work. Our national government maintains a Post Office Department, with numerous branches in every state and territory. It is also a member of an International Postal Union, which makes it possible for a person in this country to write to a friend in China, with the full assurance that his letter will be delivered. Some governments own other

means of communication, such as telephone and telegraph systems; but this is not the case in the United States.

Control over Business. — All highly civilized nations today exercise some degree of control over business. It is generally admitted that the government may properly regulate the more important businesses in a way that will



Sorting the mail in a large post office. All the letters and packages must be examined for postage, address, etc.; and each one placed in the proper sack for delivery in the city or shipment to other places.

be fair to every one concerned. This is the easiest and best way to prevent business interests from being unfair to the public by charging unnecessarily high prices and by other means, and also to prevent the public from being unfair to business interests by accusing them unjustly of doing such things.

Social Welfare. — The development of social welfare in

all possible ways is the great general aim of modern governments. All the work of a democratic government is meant, of course, to make life more worth while for every member of society; but there are a number of special activities which help directly toward this great aim. Among such activities in the United States we find, for example, the establishment of a national Children's Bureau at Washington, D. C., and federal employment agencies in all parts of the country. Some governments provide insurance against unemployment and old age pensions. One of the interesting developments of governmental insurance is the fact that during the recent war with Germany the United States government itself insured the lives of its soldiers.

Increasing Responsibilities of the Government. — All the kinds of work which we have discussed, and many others, have been placed in the hands of the government because the people have felt that no individual, and no small private organization, could perform the work properly. Though some persons believe that it is unwise to allow governments to undertake too many kinds of activities, there seems to be a growing tendency to place in their hands, or under their control, more and more of the work in which large groups of people are interested.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Why is national defense undertaken by governments rather than by private associations of patriotic individuals?
2. Give historical examples of campaigns of conquest. Find how these were regarded in ancient times. How are they regarded to-day? Why?
3. Why is the preservation of order a duty of governments?
4. Give all the arguments that you can against mobs and mob action, even when this is used to punish criminals. What would

be the effect upon peace and order if mob rule became very common? Why is it not only disorderly, but often very unjust, for mobs to punish wrongdoers?

5. What can be done to lessen the evil of mob action in the United States?

6. Why is it better for the government to administer justice than to leave this to private individuals?

7. Why do governments undertake such work as the care of special classes, and of the public health, education, etc.? Why should not education, for example, be left to the parents or friends of each child?

8. Why do modern governments undertake many more kinds of work than ancient ones did?

9. What is the aim of a modern government? How can citizens coöperate in helping the government to reach this aim?

CHAPTER III

THE DIVISIONS OF GOVERNMENT

Subdivisions of the Government. — We already know that in the United States there are several divisions of government. Each voter helps to select officers for the national government, his state government, his county government, and (if he lives in a city) for his city government.

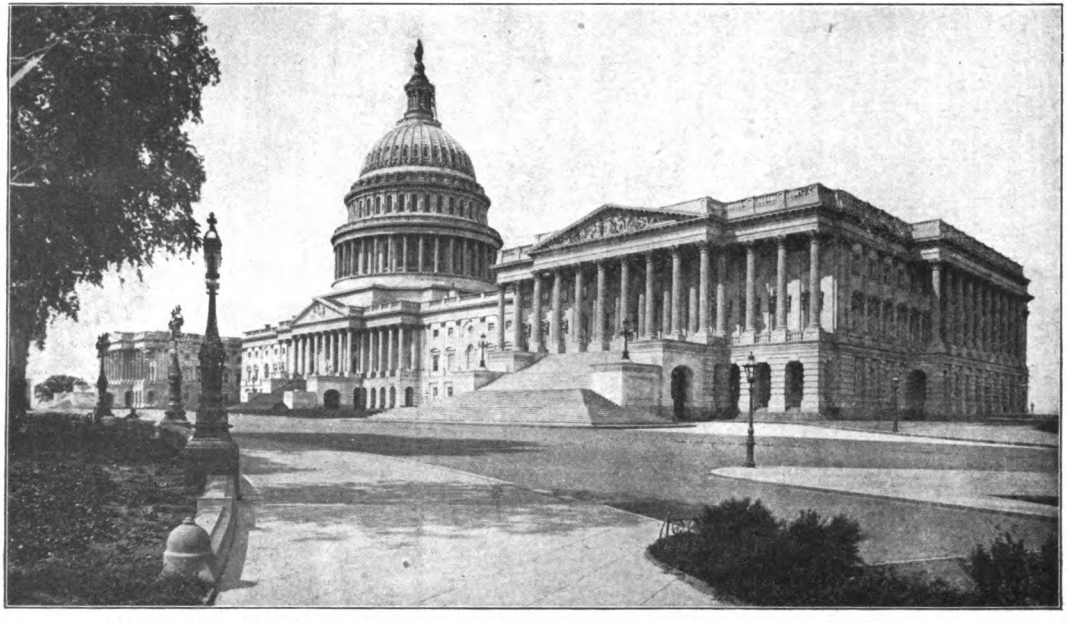
If we have thought carefully about the reasons why governments are established, we shall understand without much difficulty why these various divisions exist. They are organized chiefly for the sake of convenience in performing public work.

Affairs Controlled by the City. — The government of a city is of chief interest only to those who live in that city. Nobody outside Jonesville is immediately concerned about

the problem whether a new system of waterworks shall be installed there. It would be merely an annoyance for persons a thousand miles away to be asked to vote on the waterworks question. Even if they took the time to vote, they could hardly do so with much intelligence, as it would be almost impossible for them to study thoroughly the needs of Jonesville. Moreover, the expense of holding an election in which every voter in the United States was asked to take part would be heavier than the cost of the waterworks. All these considerations make it clear that it is best for the citizens of Jonesville, or of any other city, to manage their own affairs. They should elect their own officers, decide upon their own undertakings, and conduct their own public business without troubling others or being molested by outsiders.

Affairs Controlled by the State. — There are, however, many public undertakings which are too large for a city to handle alone, and in which many cities, and many persons outside cities, wish to coöperate. Let us consider the problem of establishing a university, to which students might come from many cities and country districts for the benefits of free education. Great undertakings such as this are often managed, in the United States, by the state governments. The same reasons that have been given for allowing cities to control their own affairs apply in the case of the state. The people of New Jersey are not particularly interested in deciding whether or not Oklahoma ought to have a state university; and it is better in every way to let those concerned in the question decide it.

Matters of National Concern. — Some kinds of public business concern everybody in the entire nation. There is hardly a person anywhere who is not interested in good



The Capitol at Washington. This great building is the headquarters of national business.

mail service. Nearly every one has friends or business affairs in some other part of the country, and needs the help of a well-conducted postal system in order to correspond with the friends or carry on the business. Every one is concerned, too, in the problem of regulating the great railroad systems which connect all parts of the United States, so that they will give good service at reasonable rates. These and many other kinds of public work which are of interest to every individual can be carried on successfully only through a government which is set up by all the people of the entire country — that is, a national government.

County and Township. — The general rule is, as we have seen, that matters which concern a city shall be managed by the city government, those which concern a state shall be managed by the state government, and those which concern all the people of the nation shall be managed by the national government. It has been found convenient to make still other divisions of government, as the county and the township, for certain particular purposes, such as assisting the state in the collection of taxes and the care of roads and bridges.

Distribution of Governmental Control. — It is not always easy to decide which of these divisions of government should control certain undertakings, for there are several kinds of public work which are of interest to city, state, and nation. One of these is education. Every city wishes a well-educated body of citizens, in order that they may choose good officials and support progressive undertakings. But the state and the nation also need educated citizens for exactly the same reason. Which division of government should control education?

This is only a single example of many public matters

which concern more than one division of government. As it would be foolish and wasteful for all the divisions to undertake the same work, some way must be found of deciding which one shall manage each affair.

Division of Work between State and Nation. — In this country, certain historical facts have helped to solve such problems. When the original thirteen states adopted the federal Constitution, they retained all the rights and duties which were not especially mentioned as being given over to the national government. This has had a very important effect upon the distribution of work between the state and national governments. Another historical fact that has had a similar influence is the custom (which has been given the force of law by the decision of many judges) of considering that the government of a state has the right to tell the inhabitants of a city within the state what functions their city government may perform, and to reserve for its own management such affairs as it does not give over to the city.

Public Welfare as the Best Guide. — Such laws and customs have been of great assistance when people have wished to decide some difficult problem concerning the distribution of public work. However, the mere fact that a thing has been done in the past does not always make it advisable in the present, for circumstances are constantly changing. Convenience and public welfare are the best guides, and when old laws have been found to work in opposition to these, they have often been replaced by new ones, better suited to modern conditions.

For instance, it used to be customary for each county or township to care for its own insane persons when their relations could not support them; but this is now generally done by the state. Since there were only a few insane in

each county, it was seldom considered worth while to build an asylum and hire cooks, housekeepers, attendants, and physicians for perhaps a half-dozen persons. Usually this was not done, and the insane were not cared for at all or were placed in a poorhouse, where they were not given proper treatment. For much less money than it would cost the individual counties to provide good care and skilled physicians for the insane, the state can provide one or two large asylums managed by experts; hence, the care of the insane has become a state function nearly everywhere in this country.

We see, then, that for the sake of convenience there must be various divisions of government; and that the public work must be distributed among these in the way which is best suited to secure convenience and general welfare.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Name the chief divisions of government in the United States. What are some of the subdivisions of these larger divisions?

2. What is the use of having so many divisions of different sizes? Why would it not be better to have every part of the United States governed by officials at Washington? Why would it not be better to abolish state and national governments, and permit each group of people in the country to govern themselves without regard to others?

3. Name public matters, besides education, which concern more than one division of government. Which one of the divisions of government takes charge of each matter that you have named? Can you learn why this is the case, in each instance?

4. Name any kinds of public work in which various divisions of government coöperate.

5. What is the common-sense standard to apply in deciding which division of government should take charge of certain work?

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER IV

THE CITY AND ITS WORK; STREET BUILDING, CLEANING, AND LIGHTING

Local Government. — The divisions of government which perform the public work of small localities are called local governments. This name is used for the governments of city, township, and county. The city gives us the most familiar example of local government.

Nearly one half of the inhabitants of the United States live in cities with a population of five thousand persons or more. As we already know, it is necessary for the dwellers in each city to do a large number of things together in order to secure good results. The pump in every yard has given way to the system of waterworks, generally owned or managed by the city; the lantern which our forefathers carried at night is replaced by street lights; and many other things have been given over to the city government because they can be done better, more easily, or more cheaply under public management than under private enterprise.

Public Enterprises in the City. — One of the most important kinds of work undertaken by the government of any city is the endeavor to make the city itself a safe and convenient place in which to live. With this purpose in view, the city builds streets and keeps them clean, lights

them at night, furnishes policemen whose work it is to keep order and prevent crime, arranges for the trial of persons who may be accused of committing certain offenses, and provides firemen to make the city as safe as possible from the danger of spreading flames. Let us look more closely at these valuable public enterprises.

Advantages of Having Good Streets. — Nearly every modern city (except perhaps a few of the smallest ones) does a good deal of street paving. Even quite small cities generally have their chief business streets well paved. This work is done for many reasons. Well-paved streets make travel easy, and prevent many accidents to both foot-passengers and vehicles. They are also of great value to business, as they make it easy for purchasers to visit stores, and for dealers to deliver goods. They improve the appearance of a city, make it much more desirable as a place of residence than it would be without them, and consequently add to the value of the property which borders upon the paved streets. For all these reasons, every progressive city is anxious to maintain good streets.

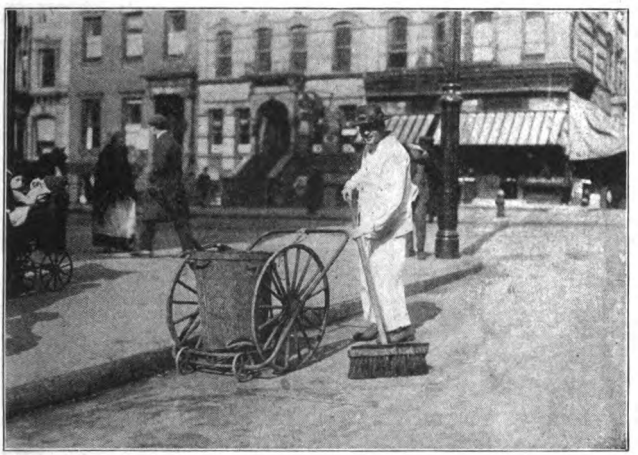
Methods of Paving Streets. — Large cities often have their own force of laborers to carry on the work of building streets; but smaller ones, which build only a few streets each year, generally pay a contractor for doing the work. The material of which streets are made varies with the amount of traffic that will probably pass over the street, the financial condition of the city, the ease of obtaining material, and many other factors. Thus, a street running from a large freight station to the chief business section of the city would naturally have to be paved with much heavier and tougher material than a side street containing private houses. A city which was already very much in debt

might have to use cheaper and poorer material than one which was just beginning to make improvements and owed no debts. A city located near a granite quarry would probably use granite slabs or blocks, while one located where asphalt can readily be obtained would be likely to pave with asphalt. This is due to the fact that the freight charges or other shipping expenses would, as a rule, be much less on the material near by, thus making it considerably cheaper for the city than material brought from a long distance. All these considerations, and many others, must be kept in mind by the city authorities when they are deciding upon the material for streets.

Paying for Street Construction. — There are several methods of paying for city streets. Sometimes the city authorities compel the owners of property which adjoins a street to pay for having it paved. The value of property is increased so much by well-paved streets that this is considered quite proper in the case of residence streets. Main thoroughfares, however, are often paid for by the city itself. The money needed to pay for this work is borrowed by the city, which levies taxes to pay the interest on this loan and to repay later the sum originally borrowed. This method is used in order to let every one share the cost of streets which every one uses.

Keeping the Streets Clean. — All up-to-date cities not only build their streets, but keep them as clean as possible. Dirty streets are a disgrace to any city. They are not only ugly and a great nuisance to all who must walk or ride through them, but they mean a loss of many dollars to business men, in keeping customers away. Moreover, as breeding places for germs, which the wind distributes everywhere, dirty streets are a menace to public health.

Methods of Street Cleaning. — In small cities the streets are generally cleaned by men with brooms, shovels, and carts, or by machine sweepers. In larger cities these same methods are used, and in addition it is customary to wash the streets late at night by flushing them with water from a large hose. Other methods of cleaning have been tried, and it is the hope of experts that a good vacuum cleaner



A street cleaner at work. The street cleaners of New York City are often called "white wings" because of their white uniforms.

may soon be perfected, which will not be choked by paper and sticks. Some cities sprinkle their streets with oil to keep down the dust, and in summer many sprinkle with water, which not only lessens the dust nuisance, but cools the atmosphere.

Removal of Snow. — The question of snow removal is a very serious one, especially in the larger cities, where thousands of dollars are lost if traffic is tied up for even a few hours. It is usually difficult to find enough extra men to

help the regular street-cleaning force in speedily removing snow. Cities have experimented for years in the hope of finding some quick and cheap method of clearing the streets after a snowfall, but they have not yet developed any system which is wholly satisfactory.

In many cities snow is shoveled into heaps and carted away; in others it is shoveled into large sewers; and in a few Northern cities it is packed into a firm sheet by means of rollers, and allowed to remain on the ground all winter. This method would not be satisfactory except in cold climates; if used elsewhere, the streets would be filled with melting snow every few days during the winter.

Well-lighted Streets. — In addition to cleaning its streets, the modern city takes pains to keep them well lighted at night. This is not only a great convenience, but it has been found to lessen the number of accidents that would otherwise take place, as well as the number of robberies, burglaries, and other crimes usually committed in darkness. Business men find that it is of advantage to them. They can show their goods in attractively decorated windows and can use other advertising devices, which would be of no value unless the streets were lighted so well that large numbers of people would pass over them each night.

Fuel for Street Lights. — When a city is about to install a system of street-lighting, there are many things which it must take into consideration. It must try to obtain good lighting at moderate cost. Gas and electricity are the principal fuels used in street lights to-day, though a few small cities still use kerosene or some other inflammable liquid. Which of these fuels is selected depends on several considerations, such as cost, quality, and dependability. Thus, a city located in a gas field would probably use gas

because it was cheaper than electricity; but if the gas flow failed several times, causing great inconvenience and suffering, and the loss of a good deal of money, the city might decide that electricity was a preferable form of fuel, even though more costly. Of course, no kind of lighting system is worth while, no matter how cheap it may be, unless it keeps the streets well lighted.

Distribution and Power of Street Lights. — The distribution of lights and the power of each lamp are matters which require thought and care. Sufficient light for a residence street, where few people pass by night, would be quite insufficient for a main thoroughfare, where there are pedestrians and vehicles in large numbers. The residence street requires only enough lights of moderate power to enable persons to pass along it without danger of falling over curbs, to protect them from being surprised by thieves, and to protect houses from attacks by burglars. In the business section or the theatrical section of a city, much more light is necessary, as the danger of collisions between vehicles increases with the number of vehicles, and the difficulties of crossing the street on foot are much greater. The streets should be so light that a person can cross them rapidly, without danger of being struck by an automobile as he hesitates which way to turn. Street intersections should have powerful lamps so placed as to throw light for many yards in every direction. Parks should be lighted thoroughly, so that no pickpocket or other criminal can be concealed in them; but the lamps should be of moderate power, in order that citizens may enjoy the parks without being annoyed by a strong glare.

When a city has well-constructed, well-cleaned, and well-lighted streets, and at the same time is not paying un-

reasonable prices for these benefits, it has done a great deal toward making itself a desirable place in which to live.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. What is a local government? Give examples.
2. Why has the tendency to collect in cities made it necessary for people to do many things together?
3. Why would it not be just as well for cities to leave each property owner to pave the street before his own property, instead of undertaking this work and charging the owner for it?
4. Of what materials are the streets in your own city made? Compare the materials used in the chief business streets and in residence streets.
5. What system of street cleaning is employed in your city? Are the streets kept clean? Can you suggest any methods of improving the street-cleaning service? Are boxes for trash placed at frequent intervals? Is their use made compulsory by ordinance? Is the ordinance enforced?
6. Is the problem of snow removal a difficult one in your city? What are the chief difficulties? What methods are used? Can you suggest remedies or improvements?
7. What system of street lighting is used in your city? Is it satisfactory? Are the lights well located?
8. Find what it cost the city last year to keep its streets cleaned and lighted. Try to obtain figures for other cities of about the same size. Do you judge that your city is obtaining satisfactory results for the money it is spending? Ought it to spend more money or less money on these services? Give reasons.

CHAPTER V

THE CITY; THE POLICE DEPARTMENT AND JUSTICE

The Police Force. — In all cities, no matter how small, there are almost sure to be persons who would commit crimes if they were not afraid of punishment. To protect

the other inhabitants against such persons, a police force is provided by every city. In small cities this force may consist of a single marshal; in large cities it may include many patrolmen, mounted policemen, detectives, officers of various ranks, and a city commissioner who has charge of the police department. Whether the police force is small or large, its first duty is to prevent crime, in order that the citizens may go about their affairs without danger.

Prevention of Crime. — In small cities, where everybody is known by everybody else, and a stranger of suspicious appearance would be noticed immediately, it is not necessary to patrol the streets. In large cities, however, where most of the inhabitants are strangers to one another, policemen must walk about the streets constantly, and prevent crime by various means. For example, if a policeman sees a ragged and vicious-looking man studying the outside of a splendid mansion, as if he were trying to find an easy place to enter, the policeman orders him to move on. If the man is known to be a burglar, the policeman may arrest him on the charge of loitering. If a policeman sees some suspicious-looking person drop a satchel in the hallway of a public building, just after letters have been received from anarchists threatening to dynamite the public buildings, the policeman tells the man to pick up the satchel and accompany him to the police station for examination. Great numbers of crimes are prevented by watchful and efficient policemen.

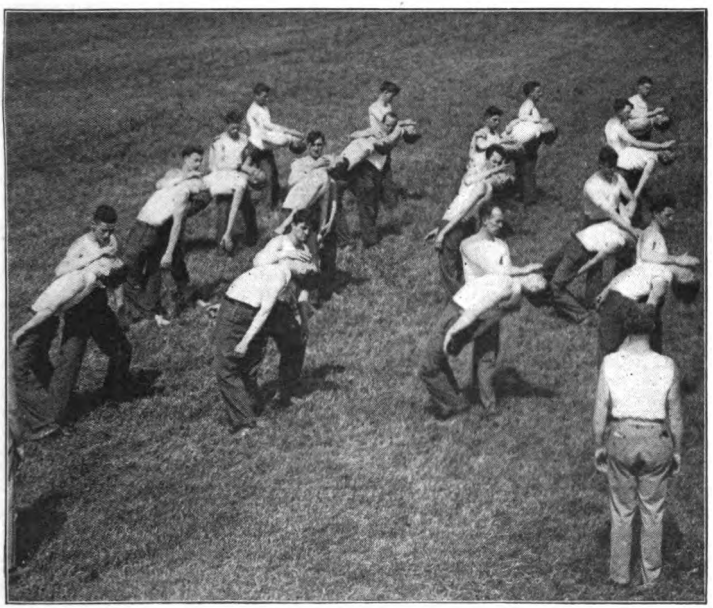
Detection of Crime. — Of course, it is impossible for any police force to prevent crime and misdemeanors entirely. A few persons will commit evil deeds despite every precaution, and large numbers of persons commit misdemeanors by breaking city ordinances against "speeding" in automobiles, riding bicycles on sidewalks, allowing poultry to

run at large, and similar matters. When persons have committed offenses, whether great or small, it is the duty of the police force to arrest them and bring them before the proper authorities. This is usually easy in the case of small misdemeanors; but in the case of great crimes, such as burglary and murder, it is often very difficult to trace the guilty person. In this case "plain-clothes men," or detectives, are set to work to make searching inquiries, and to do their best to locate the criminal. By such means as this, the police department tries to make the city safe.

Traffic Police. — Policemen have many other duties than these, however. In the larger cities there are numbers of traffic policemen. These do not patrol the streets, but stand at cross-streets where thousands of cars, trucks, other vehicles, and pedestrians pass every day, and signal "Go," or "Stop," so that the great streams of traffic may move without causing accidents. These policemen watch small children and elderly and crippled persons, and see that they cross the streets in safety. Strangers in large cities find policemen a great help, as they are always ready to tell where certain buildings are located, what cars should be taken to reach various sections of the city, and other things of this sort.

Women on the Police Force. — Beside the ordinary police force, many cities now have policewomen, whose particular duty it is to care for the safety of women, girls, and children. These policewomen have authority to make arrests, and do so whenever it seems necessary; but their chief work is of a preventive nature. If a policewoman sees a child in the company of adult criminals, for example, she investigates his home life. In case his parents are respectable, she tells them of their child's evil companions, and asks them to

help her in keeping him away from such influences. If the parents are unfit to have the care of a child, the policewoman takes measures to have him placed in better surround-



A class being instructed in the art of Americanized jiu jitsu, as adopted for police purposes in the Police Department of New York City. This shows a more humane way of handling prisoners than using the night stick to get them under restraint.

ings. Policewomen have proved so beneficial that more and more cities are employing them.

Training Schools for Policemen. — New York City has a very interesting training school for policemen, where they learn how to perform every sort of task that is likely to come their way, including first aid to the injured. Philadelphia and Chicago have similar schools, and as the movement

spreads, we may expect to find in every large city a most efficient police force.

Functions of the Judge. — The policeman is not the only person concerned in making the city safe from lawbreakers. It is necessary for every person accused of crime or misdemeanor to be tried, in order to discover whether he is guilty or whether he has been arrested by mistake, when innocent of any wrongdoing. Even if he has done the thing of which he is accused, there may be " extenuating circumstances " — that is, reasons why his guilt is not so great as it seemed before the case was investigated. A magistrate or a judge must examine every person arrested, determine whether he is deserving of punishment, and, if so, decide what that punishment shall be.

The Purpose of Punishment. — The word *punishment*, as used here, does not mean revenge. When a person has broken the speed laws of a city and is fined ten dollars, this penalty is not given in a spirit of vengeance. When offenders are punished by the officers of the law, the punishment is given in order to keep the lawbreaker from repeating his offense. It is given in order to improve the conduct of the wrongdoer, and in order to save others from suffering because of his misconduct.

Police Courts. — The police courts and other city courts never try persons for very great crimes. A man accused of murder, for example, is considered dangerous to the whole state, and his trial is conducted by higher courts than those of the city. In the city courts cases are tried which concern the breaking of city ordinances, the theft of small sums, and other minor matters.

Civil Courts. — Besides the courts where offenses are tried, there are city courts which settle legal disputes over small

matters. If a grocer sues to collect a bill of a few dollars, which the customer declares he has already paid, this controversy will be decided in a municipal court. Such cases as these, where there is no accusation of crime or misdemeanor, but merely a dispute about money or other property,

In the juvenile court shown here, every child will be kindly treated, and encouraged and helped in the right direction.

are called civil cases, and the courts in which they are tried are called civil courts.

Traffic Courts and Juvenile Courts. — Some cities have special courts for different classes of persons. Among these are traffic courts for persons accused of "speeding," of refusing to stop when ordered to do so by traffic policemen, and of similar offenses; and juvenile courts, where children are tried. Before these courts were established, children

who were accused of small offenses were tried in the same courts with hardened criminals. This made the children feel that they were looked upon as criminals, and often discouraged them so much that it led them to reckless conduct. In the juvenile courts, the children who have done wrong are treated with kindness and are helped to do better, perhaps by being placed under the supervision of a probation officer who acts as a kind of guardian, keeps in touch with the children's school records, and uses every possible means of encouraging them to do right. This often prevents them from growing up as lawbreakers. Small cities seldom have many special courts; but in these it is customary to appoint a probation officer to care for children who are accused of wrongdoing.

Thus we see that the cities of to-day are using every means at their command to prevent crime, and to keep those who have once offended against the law from doing so again.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. How large is the police force in your city? How is it organized?

2. What salaries are paid the members of the local police force? What qualifications are required? Are any training and equipment supplied?

3. Do the members of the police force perform any duties beside the arrest of offenders?

4. Are many arrests made, in comparison with the offenses that are known to have been committed, or do a large proportion of guilty persons escape arrest? In the latter case, can you learn whether this is due to a shortage of policemen or to lack of activity or efficiency in the force?

5. What courts are held in your city? (If your city is very small, you will probably find that the only court is that held by a

justice of the peace.) If there are several courts, tell the kinds of cases that are tried in each one.

6. If there is no juvenile court in your city, learn all that you can from books and magazines about juvenile courts in other cities. Can you tell why these have spread very rapidly since they were first established?

7. Why must there be policemen and courts and prisons?

8. What are the objects of punishment? Why must not penalties be given for the sake of revenge?

CHAPTER VI

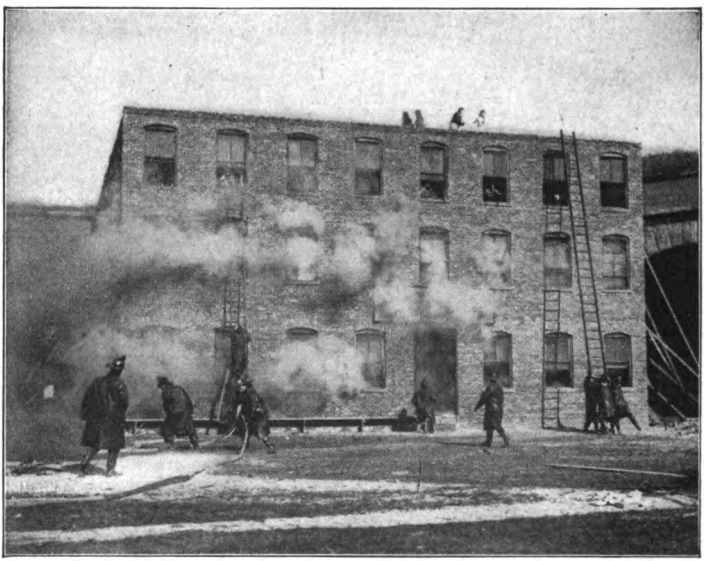
THE CITY; FIRE PROTECTION

Annual Loss from Fire. — Nearly every modern city is doing a great deal to protect its residents and their properties from the danger of fire. This work, however, has not progressed so well in the United States as in other countries; and the average yearly loss for each individual here is actually ten times as great as it is in some parts of Europe.

Fire-Fighting Apparatus. — For one thing our American cities deserve great praise; namely, the excellent fire-fighting apparatus which they provide. Even the small cities generally have good engines and ladder trucks, hose, and other necessary apparatus. Where the water pressure of a city is not strong and steady, it is customary to provide chemical engines, which do not depend upon water, as the chemicals which they contain will extinguish an ordinary fire. Formerly all apparatus was drawn by horses, but motors are now being substituted as rapidly as possible.

The Firemen. — Nearly every city has a station in which the fire-fighting apparatus is kept. In many cities this fire-station provides sleeping quarters for several men, so that there will always be men ready to go out with the

engines at a moment's notice. These firemen are paid by the city and are carefully drilled in their duties. They are taught how to arrange their clothing when they go to bed, so that they can dress in a few seconds if a fire alarm comes during the night. They are taught how to take out the engines and all the apparatus in the quickest possible way,



These firemen are fighting the flames which threaten to destroy the building, and are rescuing the inmates. By their help, every one will escape, even though the stairways in the house are burning.

for every second counts when a fire is to be conquered. They are drilled in the best methods of using the various kinds of apparatus, taught how to enter a burning building with the least possible risk, drilled in dropping persons carefully from windows into large nets and in jumping into these nets from great heights, and trained in other methods of saving

life and property. In some cities they are required to inspect certain districts from time to time, and plan the best way of fighting a fire if one should break out in any section.

Organization of the Fire Department. — In the largest cities there is a commissioner or similar official who has entire charge of the fire department. Under him there are captains and other officers who have charge of the fire-stations in various districts. All these men, as well as the firemen, are paid by the city to give their full time to their work. Minor cities have some paid firemen and other volunteer helpers; while in the smallest cities, which can hardly afford to pay men to fight perhaps ten or twelve fires in a year, there are generally volunteer fire companies.

Fire-Alarm Signals. — Every city has some system of fire-alarm signals. Some cities have whistles, some have bells or gongs, and others have electric signals which flash a warning at the fire-station. We are all familiar with some of the arrangements by which these signals not only show that there is a fire, but direct the firemen toward it. Thus, a fire in the first ward of a city may be announced by one long blast of the fire whistle; a fire in the second ward by two blasts, etc. This works well in a small city; but in a larger one, where it is necessary to give more definite signals, the electric alarms designate the block where the fire is raging. Of course, the telephone is extremely valuable in giving notice of a fire.

Why Fire Losses Are Large in the United States. — With all these arrangements for conquering fire, how is it that we have such heavy losses? One answer is that we are not careful, in most parts of the United States, to prevent fires from starting. Fire is an excellent illustration of the proverb that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. We

shall never reduce our great annual losses to a low figure, until we use every possible means of preventing fires from starting. Another reason for our heavy losses is the fact that in many cities the laws intended to protect the community from the danger of fire are not enforced. In American cities, too, there are many frame houses with shingle roofs, while in most European cities the buildings are constructed of non-inflammable material.

The Building Code. — Most cities are now taking measures which will be very helpful in preventing fires. One of the most important of these is the adoption of a building code; that is, a set of rules laying down certain requirements for every building in crowded parts of the city. These codes generally require that all theaters, office buildings, or other places where large numbers of people gather must be of fireproof materials, and that all large apartment houses must have fireproof walls. All buildings of every sort must have fireproof roofs, so that they will not be set on fire by flying sparks. These are only a few examples of the many careful provisions laid down in building codes. Cities often compel the owners of old buildings, which were constructed before the codes were adopted, to make improvements that will lessen the danger of fire in them.

Protection through Control of Business. — Beside the building code, practically all cities have ordinances regulating the kinds of business that may be carried on in certain districts and in certain types of buildings. For example, nobody would be allowed to manufacture gunpowder in a crowded district of any city or in a wooden building. Garages, and other places where inflammable or explosive materials are kept, must be in fireproof buildings, as a rule. Many cities prohibit the storing of excelsior, shavings, old

papers, and similar materials in any cellar or basement. All the larger cities have inspectors whose duty it is to see that the ordinances in regard to fire are obeyed, and that persons refusing to obey them are punished. As more and more cities adopt these wise measures, the fire losses of the United States will be greatly decreased.

Educating the Citizens in Fire Prevention. — Another important work undertaken by many cities is that of educating the citizens in fire prevention. "Fire-fighting week," or some other campaign period, is advertised in the newspapers, and many articles are published showing the various causes of fire and the way to remove these causes. Public speakers discuss the subject. Every citizen is asked to clean his premises thoroughly and remove all inflammable trash. School children are instructed as to the dangers arising from defective electric wiring, or from ashes which may contain live coals, or similar causes of combustion. Perhaps a number of pamphlets are prepared for school children of different grades, and are used in the schools as reading lessons, so that every pupil is given suitable instruction as to the dangers of fire and the methods of preventing it.

By such means as these, great progress is being made in lowering the fire losses of many cities. It is to be hoped that education in such matters will soon become universal, and that everywhere laws will be passed imposing heavy penalties upon persons whose carelessness exposes their community to the risk of destruction by fire. We may then expect to see our fire losses reduced to a very low figure and our cities made much safer from this terrible danger.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. How large is the fire department of your city? Are the members paid, or is it a volunteer organization?

2. What fire-fighting apparatus and equipment does your city possess?

3. Visit a fire-station and learn all you can about the city's methods of extinguishing fires.

4. Obtain a copy of the building code of your city and learn the principal requirements laid down for buildings in the fire zone. What is meant by a fire zone? Why is it not necessary to make requirements quite so strict in regard to buildings on the outskirts of the city?

5. Try to learn how much property in your city was destroyed by fire during the last year.

6. How much of this fire loss was covered by insurance? See if you can think out the reason why it is a disadvantage to every one when property is destroyed by fire, even though it is insured. (Suggestions: What will be the effect on insurance rates if there are many large fires? What will be the effect on prices if large quantities of goods are destroyed? Suppose the city's electric plant is destroyed by fire. What difference will this make, if the plant is insured?)

7. Find out all you can about fire prevention, and write an essay on this subject.

CHAPTER VII

MUNICIPAL HEALTH AND SANITATION

Taking Pride in the Health Record. — Every modern city is interested in taking measures to keep its citizens in good health. It is now understood that, under ordinary circumstances, a large number of cases of contagious disease and a high death rate are a disgrace to a city, for they show that the sanitary conditions are not what they should be. No city wants a bad record in regard to such matters, and for

this reason some kind of work for the benefit of public health is found practically everywhere. All communities, of course, do not have equally high standards in regard to public health activities. We shall examine the work done by the more advanced cities.

Organization of the Health Department. — Generally we find a committee known as a board of health, which has authority to issue orders in regard to matters that concern the public health. Sometimes we find also a health commissioner, whose work it is to enforce these orders; inspectors who must investigate conditions in various parts of the city, reporting instances where the orders of the board of health have been violated; and various other officers.

The Sanitary Code. — Besides the orders issued from time to time by the board of health (or by the municipal health officer in some cities), we find in all advanced cities a set of regulations which every one must obey, called a sanitary code. These rules oblige all persons to keep their premises free from filth, and make many other useful requirements. In some cities the health authorities enforce the sanitary code, while in others there are special sanitary authorities who have charge of this work.

Quarantine. — Among the rules of the board of health in almost every city we find provisions for the control of disease. Persons suffering from certain contagious diseases must remain at home; and if the disease is of a serious nature, or if it is very contagious, nobody is allowed to enter or to leave the house where the patient is. When a house is placed under these restrictions, it is said to be under quarantine. Usually a large placard is placed upon it, giving the name of the disease from which an inmate is suffering.

Care of Health in the Schools. — Other rules often made by boards of health (or by boards of education in some cases) require every pupil in the public schools to be vaccinated, and to be examined by school physicians once or twice a year. This is done in order that any serious trouble may be discovered in its early stages, while it can still be cured; and that any defects, such as poor vision, enlarged tonsils, or adenoids, may receive proper attention. In many cities the pupils are not only given these examinations from time to time, but are sent by their teachers to the school physicians whenever they seem to be ill. If the trouble is contagious, the child is sent home, and the board of health is notified, so that the home may be placed under quarantine. By this means it is nearly always possible to prevent the epidemics of contagious disease which used to be common in our schools.

Sanitation in Connection with Food. — Boards of health make rules that persons who sell soda-water and ice cream, persons who keep restaurants, and all others engaged in similar trades, must sterilize the dishes and silverware used by each customer. If this is properly done, any germs of contagious disease which are left on the dishes by a customer will be killed; while if his dishes are washed with others, but not sterilized, the germs may be distributed over the other dishes, and many other customers may contract the disease. For similar reasons, barbers are required to sterilize their combs, brushes, towels, and other implements.

Groceries, meat markets, dairies, and all places where food is sold, must be kept in clean and sanitary condition. The food itself must be kept in such a way that no dust and dirt can reach it, and no flies or other insects can touch it.

Sanitary Inspection of Public Buildings. — Tenements, theaters, factories, stores, and other places where many

people gather together, are carefully inspected by the health authorities, to see that they are in accordance with all the orders of the board of health and all the rules of the sanitary code. Everything about them must be clean; no filth must be allowed to remain; and any conditions which may be dangerous to health must be remedied. This is important for private houses, also, but it is particularly necessary in crowded buildings.

Free Hospital Service. — In many cities the board of health is aided in its work by medical students, who are glad to gain experience by helping persons too poor to pay for the services of a doctor. Usually the best physicians in the city give some of their time to clinics, or classes, where patients may come and receive skilled treatment without charge. There are usually free hospitals in large cities, or free wards of hospitals in small cities, which will receive persons who are unable to pay for the particular care they need. A great many private charitable organizations are also ready to assist the board of health, by sending convalescent persons to the country or the seashore to regain their strength, and by other means.

Health Campaigns. — Most boards of health do a good deal of educational work by means of newspaper articles, lectures, placards, and various advertising devices. In this way they teach the need of personal cleanliness and the value of sanitary surroundings. They show how babies should be fed, bathed, dressed, and treated in every way. They explain how contagious diseases spread and what measures must be taken to check them. They tell of the ways in which mosquitoes and flies spread disease, and encourage campaigns to stamp out these troublesome insects.

Other Activities of the Board of Health. — In addition to all these activities and other similar ones, many boards of health collect statistics which are useful to them in their work. They try to keep records of all births, deaths, and cases of contagious disease which occur in the city. As we have already seen, the death rate and the disease rate help to show whether a city is in good sanitary condition or not. If a city finds these figures rising too much, the board of health usually institutes a "clean-up campaign." When the birth of a child is registered, in some cities, a notice is sent to the mother telling her where to apply for advice and help in case she has any difficulty in keeping the baby well. Large numbers of babies die before they are a year old, just because their mothers are poor and ignorant and do not know how to care for them. By helping the mothers to learn proper methods of feeding and treating them, it has been found possible to save many little lives.

Who should Serve on the Board of Health? — Thus we see that the people of a city are doing an important work for their own health and safety when they establish a board of health and give it authority to compel all persons to obey its rules. The best results are secured when physicians and other experts in health and sanitation will serve on the board of health. If these cannot be obtained, however, any conscientious and able person who will accept a place on this board can render valuable services to his fellow citizens. Many of the most essential measures which must be taken to preserve the public health can be learned by any one of intelligence, through reading and observation. There are some things, naturally, which only an expert can fully understand; but no city need be discouraged if it cannot obtain highly trained members for its board of health, pro-

vided that those who do serve are citizens of the best type. Every one should coöperate with these officials in trying to make the city sanitary and as free as possible from contagious disease.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

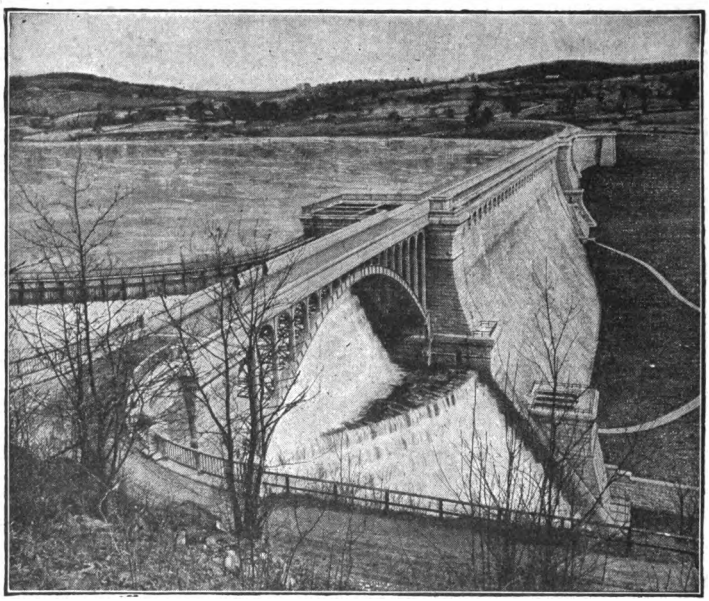
1. Who are the members of the board of health in your city? How are they chosen?
2. What sanitary regulations are in force in your city?
3. What are the ordinances in regard to the quarantine of contagious diseases?
4. Is there a school physician, a school nurse, or any medical or sanitary inspection and supervision of students?
5. Is any inspection made of grocery shops, restaurants, dairies, and similar places? Try to secure reports made by inspectors. What measures have been taken to bring about improvements where these were necessary?
6. Does any officer in your city or county collect statistics in regard to disease, deaths, and births? Try to secure these statistics for the past year.
7. How many deaths were there to each thousand of the population in your city last year? The death rate per thousand in New York City was between 12 and 13 for the year 1919. How does your city compare?
8. Suggest ways in which the sanitary condition of your city could be improved. Has the city held a "clean-up campaign" recently?
9. Are the school children organized to fight flies and mosquitoes? Is adequate instruction in hygiene given in the schools? Are the schools sanitary and well ventilated?

CHAPTER VIII

THE WATER SUPPLY

Need of an Ample Supply of Pure Water. — A very important factor in public health is water. If a city is to be

sanitary, there must be an ample supply of pure water, so that every person may bathe often, and every soiled article or dirty floor or street may be cleansed. In case of fire, too, a good supply of water is needed, with a pressure that will cause it to shoot many feet. There must not only be



This large dam was built to store up water for New York City. Though it forms a good-sized lake, the water held here is only a part of the city's total water supply.

plenty of water in a city, but all that is used for drinking purposes must be free from disease germs and from impurities of every kind, so that it will not be dangerous to health. For these reasons most cities to-day supply water to their residents, or else supervise carefully any private company which is allowed to undertake this work.

Planning a Water System. — When a city is about to install a system of waterworks, it tries to estimate how much water is used daily, and how much will probably be used in the future. For instance, if a dyeing establishment is about to be built, this will use many gallons of water. If a great factory is being constructed, and several hundred homes for workingmen are built near it, probably many persons will move into the city, and these will require a large supply of water. All these things are considered when the system of waterworks is planned.

The next problem is: where can this water be obtained? Lakes, rivers, artesian wells, and various other sources are used in different cities, according to local conditions. It is sometimes difficult to find a source of water which will yield as much as the city needs. Quite often the source is many miles from the city. In this case it is likely to cost a good deal of money to lay pipes and make other arrangements for bringing the water where it is needed; but most cities feel that the money must be spent, as an ample supply of pure water is necessary to public welfare.

Filtration of Water. — When a sufficient flow of water has been secured, the question arises whether it will need any special treatment or not. In many cases it will need to be filtered. By filtration such things as mud, bits of sticks, leaves, and other impurities are removed, as well as many harmful bacteria. We see the effect of filtration whenever a housewife is making jelly. She pours into the jelly bag a muddy-looking liquid filled with pulp and seeds, and a beautiful clear juice comes out of the bag, while all the undesirable substances remain inside. We see the same sort of filter used for water, when a salt sack is tied over the nozzle of a pump. When a large supply of water is to be

filtered, however, such a filter is not advisable, for numerous reasons. Large filters are usually made of fine clean sand, through which the water passes, leaving most of its impurities behind.

Chemical Treatment of Water. — Sometimes dangerous bacteria remain even after the water has been filtered, and it is then necessary to destroy them. In order to do so, the water is given chemical treatment; that is, chemicals which will kill the bacteria without injuring the health of human beings are poured into the water before it is turned into the pipes that lead it through the city. It is rather difficult to treat water in this way without leaving some slight chemical flavor. However, those who use the water regularly soon become accustomed to this and cease to notice it. Of course, it is far better to have such water than to have tasteless water filled with harmful bacteria. It is better still, if possible, to secure water which does not need chemical treatment.

Hard Water. — In some parts of the country, almost all available water is very hard. This means that it is filled with dissolved minerals, such as various kinds of alkali and other mineral substances. These substances were in the earth through which the water passed, and the water has retained a sufficient quantity of them to make it objectionable for many uses. Sometimes it is so hard that most soaps cannot make a good lather, and this makes difficulty when laundry work and cleaning are done. Sometimes the minerals are injurious to health, and often they make the skin tough, hard, and easily cracked. Occasionally, they kill plants which are regularly sprinkled with the hard water.

It then becomes very desirable to remove these minerals

from the water, so far as possible. This can be done in various ways, according to the nature of the mineral. It is ordinarily done by adding to the water some chemical which will combine with the dissolved minerals and make a substance that sinks to the bottom of the reservoir, leaving the water soft, or free from the minerals. The trouble and expense of doing this make it undesirable, as a rule, to soften water chemically, unless the materials which it contains are very objectionable.

Expense of a Water Supply. — Even when water requires no treatment before it can be used, large sums of money are spent by the city in pumping stations, reservoirs, and equipment. This money is usually borrowed by the city, which must pay interest on it. The city must also lay aside some funds each year, so that the borrowed money can be repaid when it falls due. If the water must be filtered or treated chemically, the city will have the additional expense of constructing filtration plants or other apparatus. The men who work at the city's water plant must be paid. For these and other reasons, the city finds it necessary to make a charge for its water. Sometimes meters are installed, which show just how much water is drawn out; and each household pays for the water actually used by it. In other cases a "flat rate" is charged, of so many dollars a year for each faucet in a building. Whatever method it may use, the city must charge enough to meet all expenses.

Preventing the Waste of Water. — Since water is costly, it ought not to be wasted; yet in every city a surprising quantity of water is allowed to run away daily, without doing the slightest good to any one. As the result of a two-year campaign against water waste in Buffalo, New York, the average daily waste was reduced 50,000,000 gallons; but

even then there was still a waste of 200,000,000 gallons per day. It is very common to see in public buildings, and even in private homes, leaking faucets which allow many gallons of water to trickle into waste pipes. Why should the city go to the expense and trouble of supplying water, if it is simply to be wasted? Why should customers pay for water which they do not use? It is better for every one concerned, when water is used carefully, and leaks and other causes of waste are prevented.

Children, as well as grown people, can do much toward lowering water bills, and saving the city needless labor and expense. One step in the right direction is to develop a habit of turning off all faucets carefully, instead of allowing a thin stream of water to flow, as is often done. Another step is to inform the proper person at once when a leak is noticed anywhere. If a water main bursts in the street, the superintendent of the city water works should be notified immediately. By such means as these, a great deal of water can be saved.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Where does your city obtain its water supply?
2. What processes, if any, are employed in order to make the water safe for general use? When was your city water last examined by the state board of health? What was its report?
3. Is your water as pure, clear, and soft as can be obtained in your locality? Is there a plentiful supply? If not, what measures can be taken to increase the supply?
4. What system of paying for water is used in your city?
5. Obtain the latest yearly report of the waterworks, and see whether the price of water sold to consumers pays for the cost of operation. Is there a profit made? If so, how much? What

sanitary considerations make it inadvisable for water rates to be so high that the department will make a large profit?

6. From the report of the waterworks, learn how many gallons of water were pumped or otherwise obtained by the waterworks plant during the year. How many gallons were sold to customers and supplied to the city? How many gallons are not accounted for? What has happened to those gallons of water?

7. Are there any defective water mains in your city? If water is lost from these, what difference does it make to the public?

CHAPTER IX

DISPOSAL OF WASTE

Why Waste must be Removed. — No city can be sanitary unless its garbage, rubbish, sewage, and other waste materials are disposed of in a proper manner. When we read about the cities of the Middle Ages, we learn that garbage was simply thrown into the streets and allowed to decay there, while every kind of filth was abundant in the gutters. It is no wonder that plagues swept over such cities. To-day we understand that it is essential to public health that waste materials shall be removed from a city.

There are, of course, other reasons why this removal is necessary. There would be great danger of fire if all the newspapers, wrapping papers, and various inflammable materials discarded every day were allowed to accumulate. It would be almost impossible to find room for ashes and other bulky substances in the yards of ordinary city dwellings; and they would be a great inconvenience, even if there were enough space for them.

Why the City Removes Waste. — In some of our smaller cities it is customary for each household to make individual arrangements with a teamster to carry away

waste materials. This is a very unsatisfactory arrangement in any case, and particularly in the case of a closely built city. Garbage ought to be removed daily, especially in summer; many other kinds of trash should be taken away as soon as they accumulate; and sewage should be washed into sewer pipes immediately. Since very few persons can afford to hire men to carry off garbage and other waste daily, or to build a private sewer system, many cities undertake these enterprises. This is another example of the way in which government is employed by the people to do the work in which all are interested.

Disposal of Waste. — When a city collects garbage, ashes, and trash, what does it do with them? This depends on many things, such as the size of the city, its location, the kind of land on which it is located, and the nature of the country surrounding it. If the city is small, all the materials may be simply dumped at some distance outside. It often happens that the man who is hired by the city to carry away the trash keeps the garbage separated from the other materials and feeds it to hogs.

Reduction of Garbage. — Very large cities sometimes sell their garbage to men who feed it to hogs or else "reduce it"; that is, separate it and change it into useful materials. When a man buys several tons of garbage daily, he often heats it and presses out all the liquid, a good deal of which is grease. This grease is saved and used for making axle grease or some other useful substance which can be sold at a profit. The remainder of the garbage may be used for making fertilizer. Some cities have their own reduction plants, so that the income from the reduced garbage can be used toward paying the expenses of carting it away. The city of Cleveland, in Ohio, receives about $150,000

each year from the sale of products obtained from reduced garbage.

Garbage, Buried or Emptied into Water. — In cities near the coast, garbage is sometimes loaded on flat boats, towed out to sea, and emptied into the water, so far away that it is not likely to float back to the shore. Some cities have garbage buried, and others use it to fill low areas. If these areas are far from houses and on the extreme outskirts of the city, and if the garbage is well covered with earth, there is not much objection to this method of disposal, especially since the garbage will enrich the soil. Of course, this method cannot be used in built-up parts of the city.

Burning Garbage. — Some cities prefer to burn their garbage, in order to make sure that all poisonous decaying substances and germs of disease, which may be contained in it, will be destroyed. It is usually burned together with dry rubbish. Experiments have been made, with the idea of burning garbage and rubbish as fuel for running machinery. The mixture is usually so wet, however, that it burns slowly and gives off very little heat. Some attempts have been made, especially in English cities, to utilize it for steam-power; but these attempts have not been highly successful.

Making Land from the Waste. — Street sweepings, ashes, and other trash of this kind are, as a rule, either taken away and dumped or used for filling low or swampy places. New York City has been using its ashes in this way for a long time with very satisfactory results. It is said to have added a million dollars' worth of land to one piece of municipal property in ten years.

By-Products from Dead Animals. — Dead animals are usually sold to some dealer, who tans the skin for leather,

converts the bones into fertilizer or perhaps buttons, and employs the other parts for various useful purposes.

Sorting and Destroying Rubbish. — Rubbish is a difficult thing to dispose of properly, as it contains so many different materials. Quite often it is simply dumped in a place where it will be out of the way. In a few cities, including Buffalo, Boston, New York, and Washington, the rubbish is sorted before it is thrown away or destroyed. This sorting separates from the rubbish everything useful, such as rubber in all forms, tinfoil, tin cans and other metal objects, rags, paper, bottles, and many other things that can be sold and used in various ways. The city sometimes has its own employees to do the sorting. In this case the money obtained by selling the useful goods helps to pay the expenses of collecting the rubbish and disposing of it. Sometimes the city sells to private citizens or firms the right to sort the rubbish and take whatever they wish. In either case the useless remainder is discarded, perhaps being carted off, perhaps being burned.

Burning Rubbish. — Some persons claim that the sorting of rubbish is unsanitary and dangerous to public health. For this reason a few American cities burn their rubbish without sorting it. As in the case of garbage, various cities have attempted to make use of the heat obtained by burning rubbish, but there is always so much non-combustible material in it that it is a very poor fuel, seldom giving off enough heat to be of much value. However, some cities have found that by installing modern devices they can burn a mixture of rubbish, garbage, and ashes, and obtain a considerable amount of heat.

Sanitation of First Importance. — When a city is deciding upon the best way for disposing of its garbage and rubbish,

it must think first of sanitation and public health, then of convenience and expense. If it can find a sanitary, convenient, and inexpensive way to dispose of its waste materials, it is fortunate. If it cannot do so, it must at least use a sanitary method, even though this may be somewhat expensive, for public health must be preserved.

Sewage, a Menace to Health. — Important as it is for cities to dispose of garbage and rubbish properly, it is even more important that they adopt correct measures for disposing of sewage, as sewage has been found to be a great menace to public health. Many epidemics of typhoid have been caused by unsanitary methods of sewage disposal. For this reason even very small cities install systems of sewers, and all larger ones do so.

The Sewage System. — Sewage is washed into waste pipes connected with the various buildings of a city; then into larger pipes or main pipes, commonly called mains. These mains empty into a very large pipe called a trunk, which leads out to the place where the sewage is finally disposed of.

Sewage Emptied into River or Sea. — The problem of disposing of sewage in a satisfactory way is sometimes difficult. If a city is located near a river, and the river is not used to supply drinking water, either to the city itself or other communities farther down the river, then the trunk pipe may empty the sewage into the stream, and it will be washed away. As the United States is being settled more thickly, and cities and towns are growing up close together, it is very seldom that this method of sewage disposal can be used safely. Much the same thing is true of emptying sewage into the sea, which used to be the custom of towns located on the coast. Of course sea water is not used for

drinking purposes; but the oysters, clams, and other shellfish found near the shore are used for food. It has been discovered that unless the sewage is emptied at a long distance from the shore, it will pollute these shellfish and make them carriers of disease germs. Sewage floating near the shore is also a great nuisance to bathers.

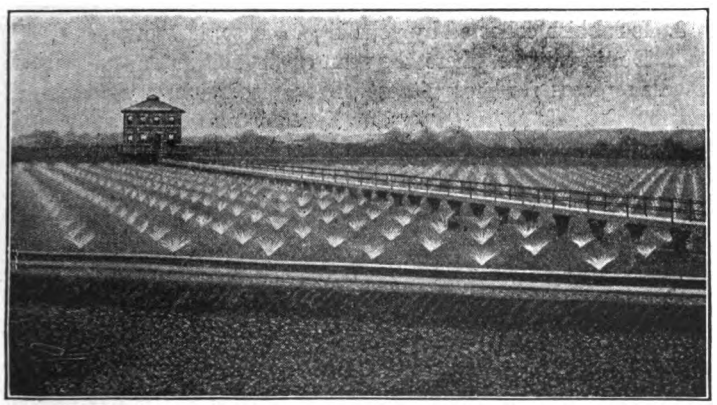
If a city cannot find a suitable place in which to empty sewage, just as it comes from the pipes, it must face the problem of adopting some other method of disposal. In European countries sewage is often sprinkled over farm land as fertilizer, but this practice has not gained favor in the United States, though a few cities have made experiments in this direction.

Other Methods of Disposal. — A much more common custom here is to pass the sewage through screens, which catch the solid part and let the liquid part flow past. The solid part is gathered from time to time, and buried, burned, or otherwise disposed of. The liquid part may be filtered in order to purify it, or it may be treated with chemicals which will kill germs of disease. If a very large body of water is available, the liquid sewage is sometimes allowed to flow into this water, just as it comes past the screen. This is a safe method if there is enough water in the stream or lake to dilute the sewage until there are only a few germs to each gallon of water; but even so, this method should not be used if drinking water is drawn within some miles of the sewer outlet. If that is the case, the liquid sewage must be purified by filters or chemicals.

Sanitary engineers and chemists are continually working out new and improved methods of treating sewage. Some of these methods employ beneficial bacteria which break up the solid parts of the sewage, and some are based upon

other ideas. These various methods are too complicated to be described here; but we may note in passing that some of them are being tried by various cities, with encouraging results. Probably it will not be long before every city will be able to treat its sewage in a modern and improved manner which will make it pure and safe.

Disposal of Rainwater. — Some cities allow rainwater to flow into their sewer mains, while others build separate



One method of purifying sewage. At Columbus, Ohio, liquid sewage is forced through the "trickling filter" shown here, and the sun and air help in the work of purifying it.

systems of storm sewers to carry off rain and melted snow. If the sewer mains are not very large, and the city is located in a region where showers are heavy and swift, the separate system is preferable. This method is desirable, also, when the sewage is treated with expensive chemicals. In this case it may be cheaper, in the long run, to build separate storm sewers, rather than to buy all the chemicals month after month, and year after year, that will be needed to purify millions of extra gallons of diluted sewage. This question

of separate pipes for rainwater is one that each city must decide for itself, according to local conditions.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Has your city a sanitary system of garbage disposal? If so, describe it. If not, tell what methods are employed by private families. Are these methods sanitary?

2. Are garbage, stable waste, and other decaying substances allowed to lie where they can serve as breeding places for flies? If so, what measures should be taken?

3. Is rubbish collected by your city? If so, how often?

4. Do tin cans lie where they can collect rainwater and serve as breeding places for mosquitoes? Mosquitoes carry yellow fever and malaria. Is there any yellow fever or malaria in your city? What other breeding places, besides tin cans, may mosquitoes find there? What can be done about these conditions?

5. If your city collects rubbish, is its final disposal sanitary and generally satisfactory?

6. Has your city a modern sanitary sewer system? Is connection with this system required of every property owner? If not, what means are taken to insure sanitary premises everywhere?

7. What are the ordinary conditions of rainfall in your part of the country? Is the drainage system of your city sufficient to carry rainwater off rapidly, or are there parts of the city where water may stand for some time? What improvements might be made in the drainage system?

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION; THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Why We Believe in Universal Education. — One of the most important parts of the city's business is providing education. Not only the city, but the larger divisions of government, such as county, state, and nation, take a direct or indirect part in this great work. It is the ambition of

all true Americans to see that every boy and girl, man and woman, in the entire country, has at least an elementary education.

Why is this true? It is because we believe in self-government, and we know that only educated people can really govern themselves. If people are ignorant and unable to learn the truth about public questions, they will believe anything they are told, and will vote just as they are persuaded to do by others. In this way they may be deceived, and led to vote for men who will not govern them properly. The only way to be sure that people will not be led astray by falsehoods is to educate them, so that they can study public questions for themselves.

There are many other reasons why we believe in universal education. Educated persons are better able to support themselves than uneducated ones. Much of the money spent in providing public schools will be saved later, because few educated persons will need to be supported by charity. Education also lessens crime. When a man can make a good living, he is less likely to enter a life of crime than if, through ignorance, he does not know how to supply his needs by honest work. Thus we see that money spent on education means money saved on prisons and similar institutions.

The Course of Study.—In various cities the public school courses of study differ a good deal, owing partly to state laws, and partly to the particular needs of the individual cities. Nearly everywhere, however, the following subjects are studied:

Reading and writing, so that each person can express his own thoughts to others, and learn their thoughts.

Arithmetic, so that the student will learn to manage his own business affairs.

Geography, so that he will know about the other people and nations of the world, the splendors of natural scenery, the various products of the earth and the way in which they are distributed, and many other things.

History and government, so that he will understand the lessons which can be learned from the past, the meaning of our own national ideals, and the duties of a citizen.

Hygiene and sanitation, so that each one will know how to keep himself in good health and how to secure healthful surroundings.

Physical education and manual training, so that the student may learn to control his body and make it carry out the ideas of his mind.

Nature study and science, in order to teach the child to enjoy the wonders of nature and to understand its laws.

Literature, art, and music, so that each person will be able to enjoy beautiful things.

Compulsory Education. — If every child in the United States were taught these subjects in the school course of study, we should soon build up a nation of happy, useful, intelligent citizens. In our larger cities the greatest pains are taken to see that all children of school age are receiving an education. Truant officers are appointed to enforce the laws compelling parents to send children to school. It used to be considered the privilege of fathers and mothers to keep their children out of school if they desired to do so, but public opinion has changed on this point. Now it is believed that no parents have the right to let their children grow up in ignorance. The idea of compulsory education is spreading rapidly, and probably it will not be many years before every child in the country is a regular attendant at school.

The High Schools. — The subjects which we have just discussed are, of course, those taught in the grade schools or elementary schools. Most cities provide high schools for all students who wish to take up more advanced work. The courses given in high schools differ even more than those given in elementary schools. Small cities may be able to offer only a few courses, while larger ones can permit the students to choose among a great many. Ordinarily, the high school offers work in one or more foreign languages as well as in English literature and composition, mathematics, history, and science. Some high schools offer manual training and domestic science, some offer bookkeeping and stenography, and a few offer training for trades and occupations. Each city decides upon these courses according to its wealth, its principal industries, the needs of its students, and other considerations.

School Buildings. — Most of our American cities take a great interest in their school buildings, which are usually very good. It is becoming customary to place new schoolhouses in beautiful surroundings, if possible, and to decorate them artistically, so that the students may feel pleasure and pride in their schools. Our cities are growing so rapidly that the schools are often overcrowded, and undesirable old buildings must sometimes be used for lack of room; but most cities are trying to overcome this condition, and to send every child to a roomy, sanitary, artistic school building.

The School Board. — The schools are managed by a committee known as a school board or a board of education. This board selects superintendents, teachers, and other school officials, decides upon their salaries, makes general rules in reference to matters of discipline and various school

problems, and performs other duties, according to the powers given to local school boards by state law.

State Control of the Schools. — We have spoken of the city's schools, but we must not forget that all schools are partly under the control of the state, which may prescribe certain subjects of instruction, a certain length of term, and other requirements. The state not only supervises local schools, but assists them financially, as a rule; for, as we have seen, all branches of government are interested in securing universal education.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Give all the reasons that you can for the statement that education is necessary to the best type of citizenship.
2. What subjects are studied in the primary schools and the grammar schools of your own city? What is the use of each subject?
3. Is school attendance required by a law of your state or by an ordinance of your city, or by both? How is this law or ordinance enforced?
4. Give reasons why compulsory education is becoming quite general.
5. Find out what courses are offered in the high schools of your city. Are any of these courses selected particularly to meet some need of the locality?
6. How many school buildings does your city possess? Are these all in good condition? Have they pleasant surroundings?
7. Describe any especially interesting features of your public school system.
8. Write an essay on the topic, "The Value of Education in a Democracy."

CHAPTER XI

SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES

Normal Schools, Vocational Schools, and Colleges. — In many cities we find not only the regular public schools, but various special schools. Some large cities, such as New York, Toledo, and Omaha, have municipal colleges or universities; and a number of cities have normal schools for the training of teachers. Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and many other cities have special vocational high schools, where a student may learn a trade at the same time that he is securing a good secondary education.

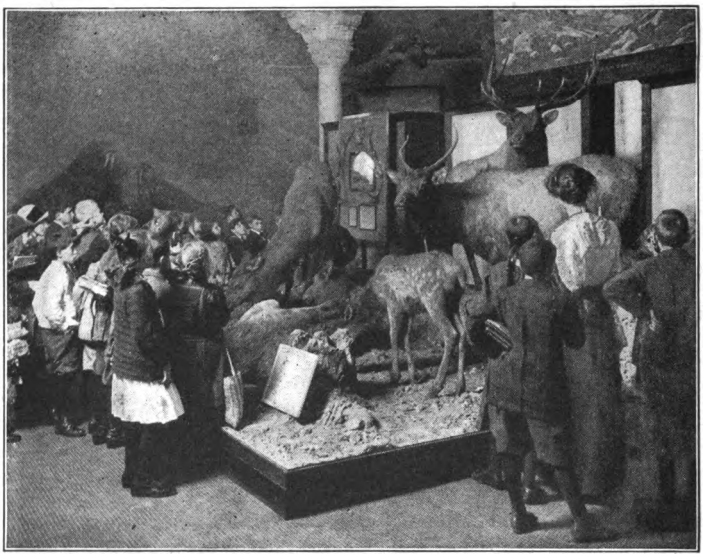
Special Classes for Individual Instruction. — Most of our larger cities have special classes for backward pupils. These classes are very small, so that each pupil can have individual attention from the teacher. Sometimes a few months of special attention will help a backward child to understand the school work so well that he can return to the regular classes. Even where this is not the case, it has been found that such children do better work and are much happier in special classes than in regular ones.

Schools or classes for the blind, the deaf, and other handicapped children are found in a few cities, though usually these persons are cared for by the state.

Night Schools. — Many cities have special night schools for adults and for young people who have been compelled to leave the regular public schools in order to go to work. A large number of subjects are taught in these schools. They offer the ordinary graded courses for the benefit of those whose early education was neglected. In addition, they usually offer bookkeeping, typewriting, stenography,

and other business subjects; and sometimes they give complete high school courses. There are also a few night schools which offer college courses, law, and other advanced work.

Americanizing the Foreign-born. — Even before the great World War, some of our cities were conducting special classes



A class of school children having a lesson in a Natural History Museum. Nature study is easy and interesting when it can be studied in this way.

for foreign-born citizens. The war has shown us how necessary it is to make sure that every immigrant who settles in the United States shall become a loyal citizen. One of the first steps toward this is to teach every one to speak, read, and write the English language. This will make him feel that he is a member of our nation, and will also make it easy for him to learn why the United States is

worthy of his loyalty. For this reason many cities, even quite small ones, are now conducting "Americanization classes" for the benefit of the foreign-born.

Libraries and Museums. — Schools and classes are not the only means by which the modern city educates its citizens. Nearly all cities, except the very smallest, have public libraries, where any one can go to secure information on many topics, as well as books to read for pleasure. Many cities have museums and collections of various sorts, such as natural history museums, historical collections, and other valuable material. Frequently the city maintains a zoölogical garden or park, in order to enable every one to study the appearance and habits of many animals.

Free Lectures and Concerts. — Some cities give free lectures on current topics, art, literature, and other important subjects. The city often provides free music, in the form of band concerts and other performances. One who wishes to obtain a musical education can benefit greatly by attending these concerts, as the best classical music is usually selected for at least a part of the program.

Instructive Exhibits. — Another great educational work done by modern cities takes the form of special exhibits. Posters, pictures, models, and instructive objects in regard to a topic such as Child Welfare or How to Prevent Tuberculosis are arranged in a public place, and citizens are urged to inspect them. One hour spent at such an exhibit will usually teach a person more than he could ordinarily learn in a dozen hours from books.

Thus we see that the modern city is doing all in its power to educate every citizen.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Try to learn something from books and magazines concerning municipal colleges, universities, and normal schools.
2. Get information also in respect to the special "shopwork" high school courses and other vocational courses offered in Cincinnati and elsewhere.
3. What special schools or special classes for backward or troublesome children does your city have? Find out all that you can about these, and report to the class.
4. Does your city hold any free night schools, Americanization classes, and similar schools for the benefit of adults? Why should a city try to educate adults?
5. Is there a public library in your city? How is it managed? Is it used by many persons? Do you use it?
6. Are there museums or collections of any kind? Do you visit them?
7. Does your city provide lecture courses and musical programs? Do you attend any of these?
8. What educational exhibits have been held in your city recently? What did you learn from these?

CHAPTER XII

RECREATION AND WELFARE

Why Recreation Grounds are Important. — It is now understood that by supplying opportunities for recreation, a city can do a great deal to prevent crime. Boys especially need the excitement and activity that they find in sports and athletic exercise, and if such opportunities are provided, they are less likely to be tempted to gamble and steal. For this reason, and also because the public health is improved when many persons take outdoor exercise, most of our cities are providing places of recreation.

Opportunities for Sport and Amusement. — Even the small cities usually have parks, where it is pleasant to walk or to sit and enjoy the fresh air. The parks of our larger cities are often quite wonderful. They sometimes cover several square miles, and are planted with rare bushes and trees and with beds of beautiful flowers. Frequently they contain tennis courts, golf links, baseball and football fields, and similar spaces for play. Thoughtful people believe that it is not wise to spend too much money on these large parks, however, as many small parks scattered through the city will be easier for children to reach than one large one on the outskirts.

Cities located near large bodies of water usually provide bathing beaches, bath houses, and recreation piers. Inland cities often build public baths and swimming pools. Public dance halls, roller skating rinks, and ice skating rinks and ponds are all found in many cities. Music, moving pictures, lectures, and various entertainments are not only educational, but are a much appreciated form of recreation.

Community Centers. — It is becoming customary to use school buildings or other public buildings as community social centers. A community social center is a place where social events of interest to a whole neighborhood may take place. Clubs of various kinds meet here, entertainments are given, meetings are held to discuss interesting questions, and other events take place which draw the people of a neighborhood closer together and make them more friendly and more willing to coöperate in helpful undertakings.

Public Playgrounds. — School grounds and other places are often used as public playgrounds. Usually they contain sand piles, sliding boards, see-saws, swings, horizontal bars, and other helps toward interesting play. Wherever possible,

a supervisor is placed in charge of a playground, so that he may prevent trouble among the children, may see that large and selfish children do not monopolize all the apparatus, and may teach new games. These playgrounds are growing in popularity, as busy mothers are often very glad to be able to send their little children to a safe place where they can enjoy themselves.

Control of Objectionable Amusements. — We have seen that places for recreation are a help in preventing crime; but there are other measures taken by nearly all cities to lessen temptation. Strict rules are made that all theaters, moving-picture houses, and other places of entertainment shall not display objectionable scenes. Though these ordinances are not always enforced as strictly as might be desired, they do a great deal toward preventing representations of vicious and criminal conduct, which would set a bad example. Gambling and other objectionable practices are forbidden in almost every city.

Measures to Secure Comfort and Happiness. — There are many other things done by modern cities, not only to lessen crime, but to make the city a good place in which to live. Let us notice a few of these.

Some cities provide employment bureaus, which try to find positions for all men or women who wish work. Some provide low rates on trolleys and other conveyances for the benefit of factory workers, school children, and others. Some provide public laundries, where for a few cents, or perhaps for nothing, women may have the use of tubs and plenty of hot water, so that they can wash their clothes properly. Many cities provide municipal markets, where farmers may bring their fresh vegetables and other products, and sell them directly to those who wish to use them. Free

day nurseries, where little children are cared for properly instead of being neglected while their mothers are at work, are quite common in large municipalities.

As time passes, people are insisting upon more and more service from their city governments. They realize that the best way in which to secure good living conditions, and a happy life for every one, is through public coöperation; that is, through government. No one man can make a city sanitary, moral, and pleasant; but all the citizens together, by putting good and able men into public offices, can make their city whatever they desire it to be.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. How many parks has your city? Are these parks well supplied with seats? Are they planted with grass, trees, and flowers? Are they kept in good condition?
2. What opportunities for play and recreation do the parks supply? Do many people use these opportunities for play?
3. Are the parks located so that children in all parts of the city can reach them? Are there any playgrounds especially for children, either in parks or elsewhere?
4. What other opportunities for recreation does your city provide? Has it a swimming pool, a lake, or some other body of water which the public can enjoy?
5. Are social gatherings or other meetings held in your schoolhouses outside of school hours? How are your school buildings used to help the entire community?
6. Are the laws against gambling strictly enforced in your city?
7. What city ordinances have been passed for the protection of morals and the benefit of the community?
8. Learn of all the different things that your city is doing for moral and social welfare. What additional enterprises do you think it might undertake?

CHAPTER XIII

CITY ORGANIZATION; THE MAYOR-COUNCIL PLAN

Organization of City Governments. — We have seen, in the early chapters of this book, that people must form an organization and select necessary officers, when they intend to work together. Since the modern city does all the various kinds of work that we have studied and many others, it must be organized — that is, planned and arranged very carefully — and must have a large number of officers. We cannot study all the details of the way in which city governments are organized, nor can we learn about the work of every person employed by them, as many large books would be needed to describe these things fully. However, we shall look briefly at the principal plans for organizing city governments, and learn the chief officials required under each plan.

Laws Governing the City. — Just as our athletic association or literary society must have a constitution, telling the objects of the society and arranging for officers, a city must have written laws, telling what work it may undertake, naming the chief officers it may select, and explaining other important points. These laws are sometimes made especially for a particular city, in which case they are known as a charter; and sometimes they are made by state legislatures, to govern all cities in the state except those which have charters. Whether a city is governed by a charter of its own or by general state laws, it is nearly always organized according to one of three plans: the mayor-council plan, the commission plan, or the commission-manager plan. We shall examine each of these plans in turn.

The Mayor-Council Plan. — For a long time nearly all cities in the United States were organized according to the

mayor-council plan. This plan varies in different cities, but usually has the following characteristics. The city is divided into small districts known as wards, and the people in each ward elect a member of a committee known as the city council. A mayor is elected for the whole city. The council makes special rules and regulations for the city, known as ordinances. The mayor sees that these ordinances are enforced, and also that the city's work is carried on according to its charter, or according to state laws, if the city has no charter.

The City Council. — The council often does more than make ordinances. Frequently its members are divided into committees which supervise certain parts of the city's business. Thus, there may be a committee on health, a committee on streets, a committee on street lighting, and so on. Each committee is expected to see that its own particular part of the city's work is done as well as possible.

Other Officers. — In addition to the mayor and councilmen, the city has many other officers, some of whom are elected, and some appointed. Among the elected officers we find, as a rule, the city treasurer, the auditor (whose duty it is to see that all accounts are correct and all expenditures are made according to law), the coroner, and various others.

Difficulty of Securing Experienced Officials. — During recent years there has been considerable dissatisfaction with this form of city government. People have begun to believe that it is almost impossible for the councilmen to attend properly to the city's business, for several reasons. One reason is that they nearly always have private businesses, which demand a good deal of their time. Another reason is that they are seldom trained in the kind of work which they

try to do for the city. Thus, the chairman of the committee on health and sanitation may be a prosperous grocer, who hardly knows what public sanitation means, and who has no time to learn, because his own affairs keep him busy.

Much the same thing is true in regard to the mayor. A mayor is usually elected for a short term of two, three, or four years. He cannot afford to neglect his own business too much, as he will need to earn his living when his term expires. As a result, he has so little time to devote to the city's work that it is not carried on as efficiently as it should be. Naturally, he learns by experience, and he has perhaps become an expert by the time his term ends. This knowledge does not help the city very much, however, for a new mayor is likely to be chosen for the next term, and the city is again governed by an inexperienced man.

It might be much better if the same mayor and the same council were chosen year after year, provided they were all honest and capable men who would serve the city as well as they could. But this is not likely to happen in many cases, as all political parties want to take their turns at governing the city, and the parties which are out of power work hard to put their men in. It seems probable that, for many years to come, cities organized by the mayor-council plan will have inexperienced officials.

Division of Responsibility. — Another objection often made to this plan is, that when the city's affairs are mismanaged, nobody knows whom to blame. Let us suppose that the streets are badly lighted, and that a committee of citizens is formed, to interview the mayor on the subject.

"I am sorry," he says, "but I have no power to help. My duties are to see that the laws are enforced; but I have nothing to do with street-lighting. Mr. Jones, the council-

man from the third ward, is the chairman of the committee on street-lighting. I would advise you to see him."

The citizens go to Mr. Jones, and he says, "Yes, I know the streets are badly lighted, but I can't help it. There are three of us on the committee, and the other two will not coöperate with me in trying to improve the service. You'd better see Mr. Smith and Mr. Brown."

Mr. Smith and Mr. Brown are interviewed by the citizens' committee, and both tell this sort of story: "We stand for progressive ideas, and if we could have things our way, you would see the city splendidly lighted. But Mr. Jones opposes everything we want; and as he is the chairman of the committee, he has more influence than we have, so we don't accomplish anything."

By this time the citizens feel thoroughly puzzled, and do not know where to lay the blame for poor service, or what measures to take to improve the service; for the responsibility seems to be divided among many persons. This division of responsibility is recognized as one of the chief faults of the mayor-council plan of city government.

Of course there are many instances in which this form of government has been very successful. Occasionally a city recognizes the value of experience and elects the same mayor to office for several terms. Many small cities feel that they cannot afford to pay their officials, or to pay more than a small sum; and most of these prefer to continue the mayor-council plan of government rather than to change to a plan whose success depends upon the city's ability to attract good men by salaries. One advantage which the mayor-council plan has above other forms of municipal government is the fact that every one is familiar with it, as it has always been the standard form in this country.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

Find out whether your city is governed by a charter or by general state laws. Secure a copy of the charter or the laws, and obtain from them the answers to the following questions:

1. Under what plan of government is your city organized?
2. What officials are elected by the people? What are the duties of each official?
3. What officials are given office in some other way than by election? How does each one obtain his position? What are the duties of each?
4. What are the principal departments of work undertaken by your city? Who is at the head of each department? How much control over him do other officials have? (Remember that the power to vote or to refuse money is an important kind of control.)
5. Write a brief essay explaining the mayor-council plan of city organization, its advantages and its disadvantages.

CHAPTER XIV

THE COMMISSION AND THE COMMISSION-MANAGER PLANS

Origin of Commission Government in Galveston. — Some years ago a great flood swept over the city of Galveston, Texas, destroying property of many kinds and killing about six thousand persons. A large number of pressing problems had to be faced at once, such as relieving destitute persons, cleaning up the wreckage, making the city sanitary, and providing for rebuilding the ruined sections. The politicians who had been in power were not qualified to take charge of things in this great emergency, so it was decided to place the government of the city in the hands of a committee, or commission, of five members.

After some legal difficulties were adjusted, Galveston found itself with a new charter. This charter provides that five men are to be elected from anywhere in the city, and not from any particular wards. Four of these commissioners take charge of the city's work, which is divided into these four departments: police and fire, streets and public property, waterworks and sewage, and finance and revenue. The

The City Hall in Galveston, Texas, which replaced the building destroyed by the flood in 1900. Here the experiments in the commission form of government have been worked out.

fifth commissioner is the mayor. He does not have a department to manage, but he is expected to see that the other commissioners work together as well as possible, and to advise and help them all. These commissioners are paid to give all their time to the city's work.

Success of the Commission Plan. — Under this system of government, the city of Galveston rose from its ruins with surprising speed and efficiency. Its government was so

excellent that many other cities adopted similar charters (differing in certain points, of course), and people began to think the commission plan an almost perfect one. It was particularly praised because it placed one commissioner, instead of a committee, at the head of each department of the city's business.

Responsibility of Officials. — There are many arguments in favor of this plan of municipal organization. In the first place, some one man is responsible for every branch of city work. If the water that is furnished you by the city is not pure, if it has little pressure, if your water bill is too high, you know to whom you may telephone or write about it. The commissioner cannot refer the matter to some committee of the council that will meet in three or four weeks perhaps, and that is too busy to see to it anyway. It is his business to see to it. He is paid to see to it, and all his time belongs to the city. He cannot shift his responsibility to some one else.

Citizens Can Vote Intelligently. — In the second place, the government is so simple that every citizen can understand it. He does not have to vote for a long list of officers whom he knows nothing about, but simply for five men. It is entirely possible for a citizen to find out about the good and bad qualities of these few candidates and to make a choice that is based on knowledge.

Business Methods. — In the third place, this commission plan makes business methods possible. Each commissioner has a certain definite amount of the work of the city assigned to him, and he is responsible for seeing that his particular activities are performed properly. He is paid enough so that he can afford to spend all his time on the city work, and most of the city charters require that he shall do so.

Better City Officials. — Because the commissioners are paid fairly large salaries, are elected from a large district, and can be held responsible, the quality of city officials has been generally improved under the commission plan.

Faults of the Commission Plan; Incompetent Men. — As time has passed, however, it has been seen that the commission plan has some faults. One of these is the same that we have observed in the mayor-council plan — the lack of experience and knowledge on the part of the commissioners. Galveston's ablest men were willing to serve on the commission in order to bring the city out of its ruins; but not all cities have been able to secure first-class business men as commissioners. It often happens that a man is given charge of a department in which the work is completely unknown to him. Of course, it is rather hard to elect a man who is a good administrator. People vote for men because they like them, because they know them well, or because they can get some advantage from so doing. A man does not make a good city official simply because he is popular or is well known. To manage a large department of the city, he should have training for such work, just as the manager of a private business should be trained. Many people think that the only way to secure trained men for such positions is to have them appointed instead of elected.

The Need of One Responsible Manager. — Other people object to this form of government because the five men elected may not be able to work together. They argue that in every business or organization you must have some one to direct all the others, if any large plan is to be carried out. It would be rather difficult to manage a ball team if three or four captains were elected. Each one would want to manage affairs in his own way, and as a result no one

plan would be carried out. Several cities have found that when the five commissioners do not agree, some of the city's work is almost sure to be done poorly. Suppose the commissioners are planning the money which they will need for the year. The head of the department on waterworks and sewage says that he will need one hundred thousand dollars. Three commissioners are opposed to him, and since they are in the majority, they vote to place in the budget (that is, the plan of finances) just twenty-five thousand dollars. Of course the department will not be efficiently managed; yet the man who is in charge of it is really not to blame. Here again we find that it is difficult to know who is actually responsible for poor management.

The Commission-Manager Plan. — With these things in mind, thinking people have tried to devise a system that would have all the good points of the commission plan and would avoid its faults. They have studied the methods of business men in order to secure ideas for managing public business, and have worked out a system of city government known as the commissioner-manager plan.

Under this plan, a commission is elected which has the duty of selecting a good business man to manage the affairs of the city. The commissioners are not paid for their services, and no actual work of management is expected of them. They act very much as a board of education acts in selecting a superintendent of schools. The members of a board of education do not attempt to manage the schools; they leave that to the expert. Their duty is to select the best man available to take charge of the school system. When city commissioners select a manager for the city, they are expected to act on this same principle of choosing the most efficient man whom they can secure. They are not

required to ask his religion or politics, or to select him from their own city; but they are required to find a man who understands public business and can manage it well. This man is paid a good salary, and is expected to earn it by seeing that the city's work is done efficiently.

The City Manager. — The city manager is given authority over all branches of the city's business (with a few exceptions, such as education, which is customarily left in the hands of the school board). He has the right to appoint men to take charge of the various departments under his supervision, and to dismiss them if they do not meet his requirements. In fact, he acts just as the manager of a large private business would act. It is his duty to see that every branch of the work is put on a basis of efficiency.

The cities which have adopted the commission-manager plan of government seem, on the whole, to be well pleased with it. Under this plan there is no doubt as to the person who is responsible if things go wrong. The manager knows that he cannot throw the blame on somebody else, so he does his very best to keep the city's work running smoothly. Since he is not chosen for political reasons, he is not likely to lose his position at each election; hence he does not need to spend most of his time on private business in order to have something to fall back upon when he is dismissed. He does not expect to be dismissed unless he manages the city poorly; so in order to hold his position, he will try hard to manage it well. He knows, also, that if he makes a success of his work, some other city will probably ask him to come and manage it, at an increased salary.

Many cities claim that they are saving money under this plan of government, even though they pay their managers very large salaries. They say that the managers are handling

the city's business so carefully that wastes and mistakes are prevented, and in many cases the managers have saved more money than they are paid.

Responsibility of the Public. — For all these reasons, the commission-manager plan is rapidly growing in favor, and more and more cities are adopting it. We must always remember, however, that no plan or method will work satisfactorily unless the people are constantly alert to see that they receive good service. Dishonest men will try to become city managers, just as they apply for all public offices; and only continual watchfulness on the part of the public will guard them against such persons.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Go to a library and find an account of the Galveston disaster. Why was it impossible for an ordinary city government to handle this situation?
2. Why are small committees, or even single individuals, often given complete control of affairs in times of great public emergency?
3. What advantages are claimed by advocates of the commission form of government over the mayor-council form? What faults can be found with the commission plan?
4. Why is it important for the citizens to know who is responsible for each department of public business?
5. Why does it sometimes happen that well-qualified men cannot secure election?
6. What advantages are there in having the heads of business enterprises appointed instead of elected?
7. Summarize the arguments in favor of the commission-manager plan of city government. Give arguments against this plan.
8. What are the necessary qualifications of a good city manager?

CHAPTER XV

THE TOWNSHIP

Townships in Colonial Times. — Townships are not found in every state, as the work which was formerly done by them is now often divided among other units of government. However, since they exist in many states, we shall briefly examine them and their work.

The township is most important in New England, where it was established in colonial times. In those days villages were usually very small and were surroundeed by farms. The people of one or more small villages and the inhabitants of the surrounding country used to organize townships (or towns, as they were often called), in order to carry on certain kinds of public work. These townships contained from twenty to forty square miles, as a rule, and varied in shape according to the way in which the land had been settled. Many of the original townships remain to-day.

The New England Town Meeting. — Once a year all the voters of the township would gather in the town hall to hold a town meeting. Here they decided upon such matters as the building of highways, the measures to be taken against the owners of straying cattle, and other problems of general interest. They also elected officers to carry out various functions. In the New England states these yearly town meetings are still held. As the cities have grown up, they have sometimes established governments of their own, which have no connection with township government. In other cases, however, fairly large cities have preferred to retain the old custom of being controlled in many matters by the will of all the voters of the township. "The town

of Brookline, Massachusetts, . . . has a population of over 20,000 and yet retains its primitive town government. Even New Haven and Hartford, Connecticut, have continued the town organization separate from the city government."[1] The work of the township is quite important, including such things as highway construction, the building of schools, the collection of taxes, the keeping of records, the enforcement of law and order, and a number of other matters.

Officers of the Township. — The principal officers of a New England township are called selectmen. A board of selectmen is chosen each year at the town meeting to carry on the township business. At the same time other officers are chosen, such as the town treasurer; the town clerk, who acts as secretary at the town meetings, keeps records concerning births, deaths, and marriages, and performs other functions; constables, whose duty it is to preserve order and to make arrests when necessary; and (in most townships) justices of the peace, who try persons charged with small offenses. Some officers are elected, and some are appointed by the board of selectmen. Persons who have always lived in cities are amused to learn that nearly every township has an official known as a pound-keeper, whose duty it is to shut up straying animals, and to kill them or otherwise dispose of them unless their owners pay a fine; and another official known as a fence-viewer, who inspects boundary fences to see that they are in condition to keep cattle and other animals in their proper place.

Townships Outside of New England. — In several states outside of New England the township exists, but

[1] Beard, Charles A.: *American Government and Politics*, 1917 Edition, p. 649.

little interest is taken in its affairs, and its functions, as a rule, are unimportant. In the Western and Southern states the township is seldom found, as the city and the county generally carry on all the work which is given to it in New England.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Are there townships in your state? If so, what work do they do? What officers have charge of the work? How are these officers given their positions?
2. If there are no townships in your state, what division of government is in charge of the work ordinarily done by them?
3. Read in history books an account of the old New England town meeting.
4. How have conditions changed so that the township is no longer so important as it was in colonial days and in the earlier days of our life as a nation?

CHAPTER XVI

THE COUNTY

Functions of the County. — Every state in the Union is divided into districts called counties, with the exception of Louisiana, which uses the name *parish* instead of *county*. The county aids the state in many of its functions, and also carries on certain work of its own. County government and county functions vary so much from state to state that it is almost impossible to describe them in a brief space. The following paragraphs will explain the features most commonly found.

Education. — Much of the state's educational work is carried on by the county. Special county officials, such as school boards and superintendents of schools, supervise

DEMOCRATIC	REPUBLICAN	SOCIALIST	INDEPENDENT
STATE OFFICERS	**STATE OFFICERS**	**STATE OFFICERS**	**STATE OFFICERS**
FOR GOVERNOR	FOR GOVERNOR	FOR GOVERNOR	FOR GOVERNOR
☐ J. B. A. ROBERTSON	☐ HORACE G. McKEEVER	☐ PATRICK S. NAGLE	☐
FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR	FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR	FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR	FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR
☐ M. E. TRAPP	☐ HARRY G. JOHNSON	☐ U. G. TUTTLE	☐
FOR SECRETARY OF STATE	FOR SECRETARY OF STATE	FOR SECRETARY OF STATE	FOR SECRETARY OF STATE
☐ JOE S. MORRIS	☐ JOHN F. STURDIVANT	☐ H. M. SINCLAIR	☐
FOR STATE AUDITOR	FOR STATE AUDITOR	FOR STATE AUDITOR	FOR STATE AUDITOR
☐ FRANK CARTER	☐ EVERETT PURCELL	☐ S. H. COLWICK	☐
FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL	FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL	FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL	FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL
☐ S. P. FREELING	☐ EBEN L. TAYLOR	☐ W. L. REYNOLDS	☐
FOR STATE TREASURER	FOR STATE TREASURER	FOR STATE TREASURER	FOR STATE TREASURER
☐ N. LEECRAFT	☐	☐	☐

The upper part of a ballot for use in a state election.

and direct the public schools, examine students who desire promotion into high schools, examine candidates for teachers' licenses, and attend to other educational matters.

The Judicial System. — In many states there are county courts, county judges, and a county prosecuting attorney, whose duty it is to secure evidence against criminals and to appear before the court and try to have them brought to justice.

Public Institutions and Highways. — County buildings, such as poorhouses, jails, asylums, and other institutions for relief, punishment, or special care, are constructed and maintained by the county authorities. Ordinarily the relief of poor and destitute persons is a county function. A large part of the construction and the care of highways is generally undertaken by the county.

Collection of Taxes. — A very important part of the county's work is the collecting of taxes. **A tax is a sum of money charged by a government in order to meet its expenses.** State taxes are generally collected by county officials.

One of the most common taxes is the general property tax. An officer called a county assessor makes a list of all the taxable property in the county. When the amount of money which must be raised by the property tax each year has been decided upon, the total value of taxable property is divided into this sum in order to find the rate of taxation; that is, the number of cents or mills per dollar's worth of property, which must be paid to the county. When the rate is found, the amount of each man's taxable property, as listed upon the assessor's books, is multiplied by the rate, and the result is the tax that he must pay.

The property tax is collected by the county treasurer or his assistants. A part of it is paid over to the state, and

the remainder is used toward the expenses of the county. In some states city taxes also are collected by the county. Other taxes are collected in various ways.

The Election Board. — When elections are to be held, whether for state, county, or township officials (and sometimes for municipal officials), a county election board usually manages them; that is, sees to the printing of the ballots, the securing of polling places, the counting of the ballots, and other details.

The Board of Commissioners. — Many county affairs are placed in the hands of a committee, generally known as the county board or county board of commissioners. This board decides upon the construction of roads, the appointment of various officials, and numerous other questions. In some cases the county board has charge of county health work, while in others there is a special board of health.

The Sheriff. — An important county official is the sheriff. He has many duties, including those of arresting lawbreakers, suppressing riots and disorders, taking charge of the county jail, selling the property of those who do not pay taxes or whose property is to be sold under order of a court for some other reason, and enforcing various orders given by the courts. The sheriff often has assistants called deputies; and if he needs special help, he may call upon any or every citizen to aid him, and the persons thus summoned must obey.

The County Clerk. — The records of county elections are often kept by a county clerk, who may also keep records of proceedings in county courts, lists of mortgages and deeds to real estate, and other valuable information. Sometimes a part of this work is done by other officers.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Why is it considered advisable to subdivide a state into counties?

2. What kinds of work are done by the counties of your own state? Ask a lawyer or a county officer to visit the class and describe all the kinds of work done by your own county.

3. What officials are placed in charge of the county work? Learn the names of the principal officials of your own county.

4. Are the various kinds of county work performed in a satisfactory manner? Should there be improvements in any department?

5. What powers over the construction of highways does your county possess?

6. What are the powers of the board of health? Are these powers being used to the best advantage?

7. Write an essay on the topic, "What my County is Doing."

STATE GOVERNMENTS

CHAPTER XVII

THE DEVELOPMENT AND WORK OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

Why is State Government Needed? — After seeing how many kinds of work are done by local governments, we may be inclined to wonder why state governments are necessary. If we think carefully, however, we shall realize that no city or county can give all the protection that may be needed, or do all the things that must be done. Consequently, a larger governing body, such as the state, must undertake these things.

Let us consider some examples which prove this need of a state government. Suppose a business man wishes to travel from his own city to another city in the state, two hundred miles away. While he is outside the boundaries of a city, who will protect him from being attacked by robbers? Who will see that there are good roads running from one city to another? Or suppose that a family living in the country must draw drinking water from a certain stream. Who will prevent other persons from emptying sewage into that stream? Again, suppose a little homeless child is found begging along a roadside. Who will care for him, and see that he is properly educated?

The authority of local governments is, of course, limited to their own territory, and it would be impossible for them

to take action in the cases which we have just considered. To do these various kinds of work, a division of government is needed which has authority over a larger area. In our own country, this division is the state.

Why Our Country is Divided into States. — Some countries are divided into districts of other kinds, instead of states. There is a historical reason why states exist here. As we all know, our nation was originally formed by the union of thirteen states. It seemed best that new territory, also, should be formed into states, rather than districts; so our nation is now composed of forty-eight states.

Varying Sizes of the States. — Our states vary greatly in size. The state of Texas, for example, is considerably larger than the combined areas of France, Belgium, Switzerland, and the Netherlands; while Rhode Island is not much larger than a county in some of the large Western states. Whether small or large, the state performs many useful functions, some of which we shall examine later.

Powers of the States. — Before we go further in our study of the state, we must realize that its authority has certain limits. Just as the city has no authority outside its own boundaries, so the state has no power beyond its borders. Just as the state controls the city in some respects, so the national government controls the state in some respects. Here, however, we find an important difference which we must not forget. We have seen that the state gives powers to the city, either through laws or through a charter. But the national government does not give powers to the states. This is due to the fact that the original thirteen states were in existence before the federal government was set up. As independent states, they possessed all the powers that any free nation has.

When these original states decided to form a federation and set up a national government, they gave it some of their powers, but kept all the others. The powers which they gave to it were, of course, those which they thought could be exercised by a central government better than by individual states. For example, they gave the national government power to declare war, to provide an army and a navy, to regulate commerce among the states, and to do various other things which no state could very well undertake. All these powers were listed in the Constitution of the United States of America, and the states were forbidden to exercise them. In order to make sure that the national government would not take away other powers from the states, an amendment was soon added to the Constitution, providing that "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." (Amendment X.)

Except in the case of powers which have been especially given to the national government, then, we find that states have complete authority over their own territory. New York, Nevada, Oklahoma, and California may set up entirely different systems of public schools, may tax different kinds of property, and may have different laws in regard to the preservation of game, the rights of corporations, the compensation of workingmen for accidental injuries, and many other things.

Though the state allows subdivisions such as the city, the township, and the county to do a good deal of work, there are many duties which the state cannot give to them and must carry on itself. In the following chapters we shall learn the most important of these duties.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Why is some larger division of government than the city, or even the county, needed?
2. Explain how our states came into existence.
3. On what principle is authority divided between the state and its subdivisions? On what principle is authority divided between state and nation? Explain this difference.
4. How does it happen that the laws of the various states differ so greatly? Do you consider this an advantage or a disadvantage? Explain your answer fully.

CHAPTER XVIII

STATE CONSTITUTIONS

The Constitution Contains the Fundamental Law. — We have already seen that when people are to undertake any work together, they must be guided by rules and regulations. Since the people in each state of our Union are doing a great deal of work through their state governments, they have written the general plan by which this work is to be done in a document known as a state constitution.

Not all the laws of the state are placed in the constitution. It is merely a kind of outline making the rules which are considered most important, or, as we usually say, containing the fundamental law. Let us see what these important rules are.

The Bill of Rights. — In every state constitution we find a bill of rights. This is a list of certain rights which shall belong to all citizens and shall not be taken from them by the legislature, by a judge in court, or by any other governmental agent. Thus, every state constitution says that citizens shall not be deprived of the right of free speech, of

the right to be tried fairly when accused of crime, of the right to hold such religious views as they see fit, and of various other rights.

Officers and Departments of Government. — The organization of the state government is set forth in certain sections in the constitution, which name the state officers (as governor, representatives, judges of various ranks, etc.), tell how they shall be chosen for office, and explain the duties and the powers of each. State constitutions also organize subdivisions of the state, such as counties and townships. Some constitutions explain the conditions under which communities may become cities and define the powers of cities. The constitution of every state in the Union, like that of the federal government, establishes three departments and divides the work of government among them. They are called respectively the legislative, the judicial, and the executive departments. We shall learn presently the meaning of these terms, and the work given to each department.

Elections. — Beside outlining the organization of government, the state constitutions usually provide for the way in which the people shall take part in public affairs. They name the qualifications of voters, sometimes tell what system of voting and what kind of ballot shall be used, and usually guarantee honest elections. Of course, the legislature always passes laws giving more details on all these points.

Education and Social Welfare. — Most state constitutions contain sections providing for free public schools and other helps toward social welfare. In this case, as in many more, the details of such matters are left to the legislature.

Regulation of Business. — In the earliest state constitutions we find no mention of the regulation of business, but in all modern ones there are sections providing for care-

ful inspection and regulation of businesses of various kinds. The three business enterprises which practically every state constitution brings under government regulation are banking, insurance, and the railroad business. These are all recognized as businesses in which the public has a large interest. Many persons deposit money in savings banks and pay for insurance; many persons own railroad stocks and bonds, and nearly every one uses railroads. For these and other reasons, state constitutions generally provide that these important kinds of business shall be carefully regulated, so that the public may receive fair treatment.

Taxation. — Since the work of the government is costly, state constitutions always contain sections dealing with financial problems. In order that the legislature may not be tempted to spend too much public money, most state constitutions place a limit upon the state's power of taxation.

Often we find in these constitutions a provision that if the state is planning to undertake some unusual piece of work, such as the building of a great system of roads or the construction of canals, which will require the expenditure of large sums, the people of the state must be given an opportunity to vote upon the matter. If they believe that the benefits which will come to them are worth more than the extra taxes they will have to pay, they will vote in favor of the proposition; if they think otherwise, they will vote against it. All the regulations in regard to state finances are intended to protect the people and to keep the state government working for them and not oppressing them.

Amendments of the Constitution. — It is necessary from time to time that amendments be made in state constitutions, and all such constitutions provide methods by which they may be amended. In most cases they require a proposed

amendment to be passed by two successive sessions of the legislature, after which it shall be voted upon by the people of the state. Thus, no change can be made hurriedly and carelessly; and no change can be made by the legislature alone without consulting the people. Under ordinary conditions this method of making amendments works well; but as it cannot be used in an emergency, some persons think that a quicker and easier method should be used. However, a few states have even more slow and difficult systems of amending their constitutions.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. What is a state constitution? Why does it not contain every law by which the people of the state are to be governed?
2. Explain the meaning of bill of rights. Give reasons why such a bill is found in state constitutions.
3. Explain what is meant by organization of state government. What is a department of government?
4. Why do our state constitutions provide for the people's part in public affairs? In a free country where the right to vote is widespread, why are any qualifications required before people are allowed to vote?
5. Why do our most recently established state constitutions provide for the regulation of business, while earlier ones did not?
6. Why are restrictions placed upon the financial powers of the legislature? Why are the people permitted to vote on extraordinary expenditures?
7. Why is the amending process made difficult? Do you think it should be easier? Explain your answer.

CHAPTER XIX

THE STATE AND ITS WORK

Division of Work between State and City. — The state and the city often undertake the same kinds of work, but

they do not do the same things. For instance, both city and state share in the task of providing public schools; but the state acts chiefly as supervisor, while the city or some other division of local government does most of the actual work. However, the state itself often provides and maintains certain special schools, such as schools for the deaf and the blind, state universities, and state agricultural colleges. This is due to the facts that very few cities could afford such schools and that the students who attend them come from all parts of the state.

Later we shall learn in more detail what the state does for education, but at present we must remember that it shares other kinds of work with local governments in much the same way. Thus, it supervises the construction of highways, the care of public health, and various other tasks performed by local governments. There are some things, too, which the state alone can do, and in which the local governments have no share.

Important Functions of the State. — Among the many kinds of work undertaken by the state, some of the most important are as follows: the making of laws, the regulation of business, the providing of education, the care of special classes, the care of public health, and the administration of justice. Of these, the first one which we shall consider is the making of laws.

Why We Have Laws. — We saw in the first chapter of this book that, just as a literary society has to have rules to go by, so does every government. When we try to do things together, we have to make plans for doing them. For example, when we plan to build highways, we have to plan how much money will be spent, how the money will be raised, and who will have charge of the work. In case we borrow

the money by selling bonds, we must make plans for repaying the loan. If the state establishes a university, it must likewise plan how it shall be managed. Such plans are usually made in the form of laws.

Laws Regarding Personal Relationships. — We can readily see that there must be many kinds of laws besides those which involve the planning of work. Let us examine some of them. In the first place, we have laws or rules regulating certain human relationships, such as marriage and divorce. Before a man and a woman can be married, the law says that they must procure a license. This is a permit from the state to get married. This permit is required in order that the state may know who is responsible for the care of any children that they may have, so that it will know what property to give to children in case of the death of the parents, and for various other reasons.

Laws Regarding Property. — We also have many laws regarding property rights. These laws say what kind of things shall be property, how property shall be transferred from one person to another, what evidences shall be given that property has been transferred, who shall inherit property, and how property may be bequeathed.

Thus, the laws may provide that certain kinds of game or wild animals shall not be the property of any individual, even the man on whose land they are found, and that they must not be killed or captured. On the other hand, it may provide that a limited amount of certain game may be killed, and shall be the property of the man who kills it; but at the same time the owner may be forbidden to sell the game, or to transfer it to another person except by giving it away. In case real estate is to be transferred, the law may require deeds to be signed by every one concerned, so that

there will be written evidence that the property has changed hands. Every state has laws regulating the making of wills, and naming the relatives who shall inherit property, if a person dies without leaving a will. We can easily see how necessary these property laws are.

Laws Relating to Business. — Another large set of social rules or laws consists of those which help to create certain kinds of business organizations or else to regulate business. Let us examine some of these. Suppose that you deposit your money in a savings bank. You wish to know absolutely that you can get it again when you want it. But how do you know that the banker is not careless or dishonest, so that when you ask him for your money, he will be unable to give it to you? If there were no laws regulating savings banks, this is just what might happen. Suppose, however, the state law says that no money placed in savings banks can be invested by those banks in anything but liberty bonds, state bonds, or city bonds of certain sorts. Now these bonds, being backed by the whole national government, state government, or city government, always are a good investment and always will sell for just about as much as they are worth. They can always be sold very easily. Because of this regulation by the state regarding the kind of securities in which a savings bank may invest, you are able to go to the bank at any time, after a few days' notice, and get your money.

Laws to Protect the Citizens. — The state also makes many laws in order to protect the health, safety, and welfare of its citizens. It may pass laws, for instance, prohibiting the selling of impure foods or milk, and the selling of goods that are of "short weight." It may say that cattle affected by certain diseases shall be dipped in a certain solution in

order to free them from the diseases. It may say that no one shall be a railroad engineer unless he takes an examination to see that his eyes are good, and no one shall practice medicine unless he has taken certain studies or passed certain examinations.

An inspector of weights and measures visiting the public markets to test the correctness of the scales and measures used. There is a heavy fine for attempting to cheat the consumer by using faulty scales. All condemned weights and measures are destroyed.

Every state has many laws defining various crimes, felonies, and misdemeanors, forbidding all persons to commit these acts, and fixing penalties for disobedience.

In all these ways, therefore, the state passes laws for the welfare of its citizens. It is the state, much more than either the national or the local governments, that makes laws regulating the everyday lives of its citizens.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Name as many kinds of work as you can which are shared by state and local governments. Explain the reason why this is true, in each case.

2. Why are the laws of a state ordinarily more numerous and more complicated than those of a city?

3. Name several enterprises that must be planned by the state. What would be the result if these were undertaken without careful plans?

4. Give examples of laws in regard to property and the use of property. Why may not a person use his property exactly as he pleases?

5. Why do the laws regulate very carefully the savings banks, insurance companies, and other businesses which handle the money of a great many people and promise to repay it under certain conditions?

6. Why are many crimes punished by the state rather than the city?

7. Why are many laws in regard to health, safety, and general welfare made and enforced by the state? What would be the result if a city made laws in regard to contagious diseases, but no division of government made such laws to govern people living outside the city who came in on errands?

CHAPTER XX

EDUCATION

State Supervision of Schools. — As we already know, cities and school districts have direct charge of our public schools; but every state does more or less work in supervising, directing, and helping the local school authorities.

It is rather difficult to describe this work, as it varies greatly from state to state. We may say, however, that in every state we find some person or persons with authority to inspect the work of all public schools, map out courses of study, require reports, and give examinations. In some cases this authority is placed in the hands of a board of education or a board of regents; in other instances it be-

A bird's-eye view of the University of Wisconsin, at Madison, Wisconsin.

longs to one person, such as a state superintendent of education; while occasionally we find both a board of education and a state superintendent. County superintendents of schools are often selected to supervise the work of the school districts, examine teachers, grant certificates to those who meet requirements, and perform many similar duties.

Financial Aid from the State. — In most states the local school authorities have the legal right to decide the school problems; but in order to induce them to decide in favor of progressive methods, the state often gives special financial aid to schools which maintain a certain standard of work. For example, if a school is kept open for a given number of weeks during the year, if the textbooks used are approved by the state educational authorities, if the teachers are properly qualified, and if various other requirements are met, the state pays to the local school board a certain amount of money. Most local school authorities are very willing to maintain good schools in order to secure this financial help.

Opportunities for Higher and Professional Education. — Many states maintain not only ordinary public schools, but normal schools, colleges, and universities, where instruction is given free of charge. State universities are more common in the Western states than in the Eastern ones, owing to the fact that so many long-established private colleges and universities are found in the East.

The majority of state universities offer a wide variety of courses, including not only literature, science, mathematics, and languages, but many subjects which will enable students to prepare for a profession or a chosen life-work. Thus, at many of these universities students may prepare to be electrical or chemical engineers, pharmacists, dentists, physicians, or lawyers — to mention only a few possibilities.

Agricultural Colleges. — A number of states maintain separate agricultural colleges, with experimental farms, herds of registered cattle, examples of improved farm machinery, and the necessary buildings and apparatus for training students in every branch of modern scientific agriculture. Some of these colleges offer short courses of a few weeks arranged so that farmers can attend them at seasons when farm work is not pressing. The colleges occasionally send out lecturers and demonstrators to meet farmers who cannot spare even the few weeks needed for a short course, and to show them how to deal with a rust or a blight, how to treat certain diseases of cattle, how to test soil or seed, and various other things. Much of the wonderful progress made by the American farmer since the beginning of the twentieth century is due to the educational work carried on by our states.

Inspection of Schools. — In the various states there are many different plans of inspecting and examining schools. High schools are often inspected by officials connected with the state university, so that the university can be sure that their preparation for higher work is sufficient; while the graded schools are inspected by county or state officials. The object of inspection, of course, is to see that all schools are doing the very best work possible.

School Attendance. — Many states have laws requiring the schools to remain in session annually for a definite number of weeks. In most states, also, children of specified ages are required to attend school for a certain number of days each year.

Thus we find that the state is opening to every citizen the great opportunity of receiving an education. Almost any boy or girl of ambition can take advantage of this oppor-

tunity, and receive training that will mean a happy life, a useful occupation, a good income, and the power of serving state and nation as an intelligent citizen.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. What authorities are in control of the work of education in your state? What are their powers and duties?
2. What subdivisions, as counties and school districts, aid the state in its work? What officers are found in each subdivision? What are the duties of these officers?
3. Under what conditions does your state give financial aid to local school districts? Make a list of the requirements for all schools receiving such aid. Does your own school meet these requirements, or surpass them?
4. What colleges, universities, and normal schools are maintained by your state? Send for catalogues from these, and describe the work done by each.
5. What can you learn of extension work done by any of these institutions? What is the value of extension work?
6. Describe the system of school inspection used in your state.
7. What laws are in force in your state as to the attendance of children at school? Do you think that conditions in your state are such that a longer attendance should be required? Give reasons for your answer.
8. Write an essay on the topic, "What my State is Doing to Educate its Citizens."

CHAPTER XXI

CARE OF SPECIAL CLASSES

Special State Institutions. — Every state maintains institutions for the care of special classes of persons who are not able to care for themselves, and whose relatives are either unable to support them or unable to provide suitable

conditions and proper training. In some cases these institutions make no charge; in other cases they require payments from those inmates whose families are able to pay.

Taking Care of the Mentally Weak. — The care of the insane is a very important part of the state's work to-day. Instead of being allowed to wander about the country to be the sport of heartless persons, or being chained in filthy dungeons if they seem dangerous, as used to be the case, the insane are to-day kept in clean, comfortable buildings and given the best of care. They are examined by experts who try to find the cause of their mental trouble, and to remove this cause if possible. In many cases cures are made; and even when the mental powers cannot be restored completely, it is often possible to improve a patient's condition so much that he can do pleasant and useful work.

Feeble-minded persons are also cared for by the state. Unlike the insane, these persons have never had good minds, but have been "foolish," as the common saying goes, all their lives. The feeble-minded are of many grades, from the person whose mind is just a little below the normal standard, to the poor idiot who seems to have no mind at all. Of course it is impossible to give good minds to people born without them; but feeble-minded persons of the higher grades can often be trained to do various kinds of work which will enable them to support themselves. This makes their lives happy, and saves the state a good deal of expense.

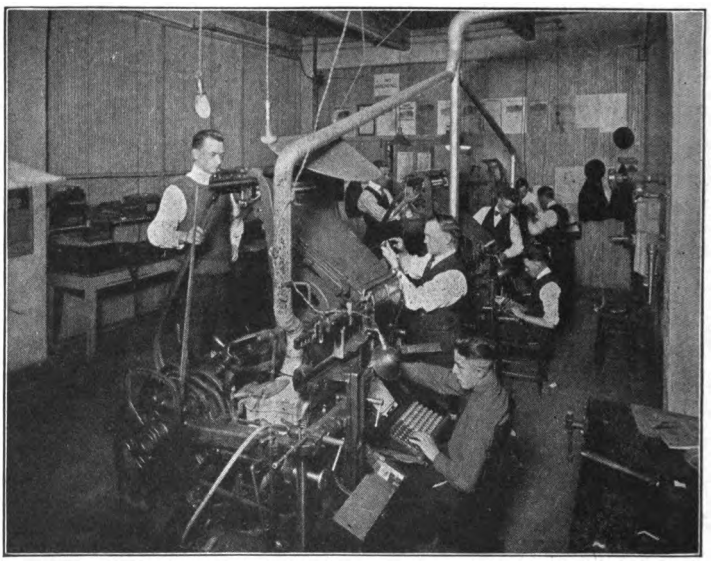
Taking Care of Wayward Children. — Delinquent young persons — that is, boys and girls who have repeatedly broken the laws or perhaps even committed serious crimes — are sent to special state institutions. Here they are kept out of temptation and are trained in some useful trade or other means of self-support. How much better this is

than the old-fashioned method of sending delinquent children to jail! The adult criminals there taught the children to pick pockets, snatch purses, and do all the other wrong things which they themselves practiced. This method was almost sure to turn a wayward child into a criminal, while a good industrial education will make it possible for him to earn an honest living and be a good member of society.

Taking Care of Homeless Children. — Orphans, children deserted by their parents, children whose parents are not able to rear them properly, and other children who must depend on charity for their support are often cared for in state institutions. There are still many private charitable institutions and " children's homes " in existence, but these are nearly all inspected and supervised by the state to make sure that the children kept in them are receiving proper care. While children are in these homes they are educated in the subjects taught in the regular public schools; and in many cases they attend some public school near by. They are also trained in various kinds of work, so that if they are not adopted by private families, they will be able to support themselves when they become too old to remain in the institutions.

The Care of Tubercular Patients. — Many states are now undertaking the care of persons afflicted with certain diseases which have proved to be dangerous to the public health, if neglected. A vigorous campaign has been carried on everywhere to educate the public in fighting tuberculosis, and in many states public sanatoria have been built, especially for tubercular patients. Like many other state institutions, these generally ask fees from those who are able to pay, but admit poor persons free of charge. Here the most desirable sanitary conditions, the most suitable food,

and the best of care are provided, and the medical attention and the nursing are of the highest order. These institutions have saved many lives directly, and have helped indirectly to save many more by the educational effect which they have had in proving that tuberculosis can be cured by right methods of treatment.



The men in this picture served in the army during the World War and were wounded or otherwise disabled. They are now being trained to operate linotype machines.

Helping the Handicapped. — Most states have special institutions where the blind, the deaf, the crippled, and other persons with some defect may be educated and trained. Modern science has devised many ways of teaching them, until now they are not only educated like other persons, but are trained to earn their livings. After the deaf have been taught to speak and to understand " lip-reading," they can

enter many different occupations. The blind learn weaving, wood-carving, certain kinds of metal-work, and many other things. Cripples learn whatever their individual cases will permit. During the World War, many new methods were devised for training injured men, and since the war much valuable work has been done by various states as well as by the federal government in the work of teaching them various trades and occupations.

Some states have other institutions for special classes of persons, such as homes for old soldiers. Every state in the Union undertakes the care of some of the special classes which we have just examined, and thus prevents much suffering and does a great deal of good.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Explain the difference between insanity and feeble-mindedness. What kind of treatment is needed in each case?

2. Why is it usually the state that cares for the insane and the feeble-minded? What institutions for the care of such persons are maintained by your state? What can you learn of the work of these institutions?

3. Name your state institutions for the care of delinquent children. What kinds of training are given in these? What is the value of such institutions?

4. Does your state maintain a home for the care of orphans and other dependent children? Does it inspect private institutions maintained for this purpose? What legal requirements are made of all institutions that care for children? What training is given the children?

5. Are any institutions for the cure of diseases and the training of defective persons maintained by your state? Find out as much as possible about the work of these institutions.

6. Make a list of all your state institutions for the care of special classes of persons. Do these benefit you and other citizens, as well as the inmates? Explain your answer.

CHAPTER XXII

PUBLIC HEALTH

Advance in Public Health Work. — If we were able to look back upon the work of the state a hundred years ago, we should see that at that time it did very little for its citizens compared to what it is doing to-day. This is particularly true in regard to health. A century ago nothing was known about germs, and people did not know that most diseases can be prevented. To-day, however, we know that all such diseases as smallpox, typhoid fever, diphtheria, and tuberculosis are caused by germs. If we can keep these germs from entering into people's systems, we have to a large extent prevented disease.

To prevent dangerous germs from spreading and to keep people from coming into contact with them, however, requires great vigilance on the part of the state, for these germs come to people in many different ways. Typhoid germs may be spread, for instance, by impure milk, impure water, or food which has become contaminated with them. Other germs may be spread in different ways. The problem of the state is to see to it that food, milk, and water are pure, and that persons who have contagious diseases do not pass on the germs to other people.

Protection of the Water Supply. — A good deal of this work of protecting health is done by cities, as we have seen; but their authority is not sufficient to meet all needs. For example, a city cannot prevent persons who live out in the country from throwing sewage and garbage into the stream from which the city's drinking water is drawn; nor can it prevent persons who have smallpox or scarlet fever from

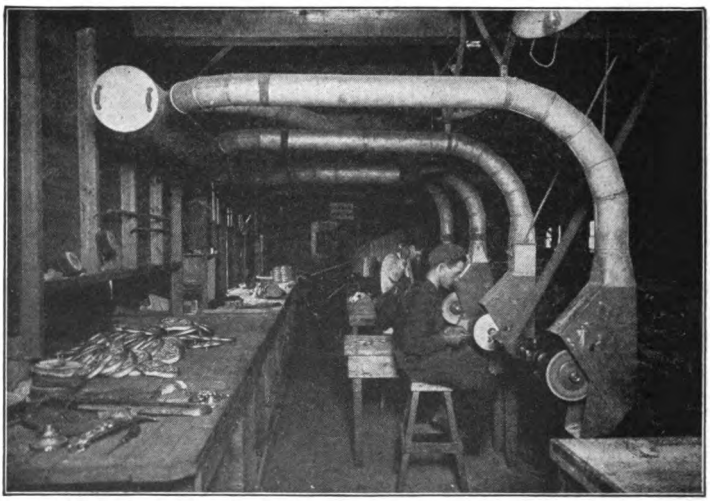
handling apples, potatoes, or other articles of food which are to be shipped into the city. The state, however, has the power to regulate all such dangerous practices. In order to protect people from the germs that come from an impure water supply, the states are now beginning to regulate the use of all the streams of the state in order to keep them pure. Some of the states, for instance, will not let sewage or other impurities be dumped into their rivers. Some of them are seeing that the stagnant waters of the state are drained so that they will not furnish a good breeding place for mosquitoes, which are known to carry the germs of malaria and other diseases. Some states also provide that, before any town or city can establish a water supply or increase its water supply, it must first consult the state board of health.

Protection of the Food Supply. — States are also taking measures to protect the food supply. It has been found out that in many instances foods have been adulterated, or harmful preservatives have been added to them. Many states are passing laws, therefore, which require all those who manufacture food or who deal in food to be licensed. The state also lays down certain standards of purity for food and requires all food manufactured or sold to come up to these standards. In case any dealer does not comply with the law, his license is revoked.

Prevention of Tuberculosis. — Tuberculosis has been called "the Great White Plague." Thousands of persons in each state have been dying from this one disease each year. At last, however, the states are awakening to the fact that tuberculosis is a disease that is not only curable but also preventable. We have found that there are several conditions which tend to cause tuberculosis, and that by

preventing these conditions we can to a large extent prevent the disease. The victims of tuberculosis suffer from this disease largely because of overcrowding in houses without sufficient fresh air and light, working at such occupations as marble-cutting, where dust is continually breathed, insufficient clothing and food, and lack of cleanliness.

There are several ways, therefore, in which the state can prevent tuberculosis. It can carry out an educational



The dust shed by these grinding and polishing wheels is carried into the hoods and away through the pipes, so that the workers do not breathe it.

campaign, showing the causes of this disease and the methods of curing it. It can demand that houses and factories be built in such a way that there shall be plenty of light for each person, and that these places shall not be overcrowded. It may also demand sufficient ventilation in all houses and factories. Much can be done by educating the people to a greater degree of cleanliness.

Work of the State Health Authorities. — State boards of health are found in most states. In some the state health activities are intrusted to a commissioner of health or to both a board and a commissioner. In certain states the state health authorities may request and advise, but not compel, the local boards of health to do various things, such as to quarantine certain diseases, to send samples of drinking water for examination, and to enforce sanitary regulations. In other cases the state health authorities are given the power to compel obedience, so that no ignorant or obstinate local board of health can interfere with the welfare of all the people of the state.

State health authorities do many things besides those which we have named. In case an epidemic occurs, it is their duty to use every possible method of stamping it out. They usually do a great deal of educational work, such as publishing pamphlets and newspaper articles on sanitation and the prevention of disease. Sometimes they distribute vaccine serum and other serums and antitoxins, regulate all dairies and slaughter-houses to insure cleanliness, and carry on research into the methods of curing certain diseases. We can easily see how valuable this work is and how much illness and suffering are saved to the people of a state by the activities of the state health authorities.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Explain the germ theory of disease.
2. Why has the germ theory led to new methods of fighting diseases, and new care and precaution in regard to their spread?
3. Explain how flies and mosquitoes spread disease.
4. Mention ways in which drinking water may become contaminated.

5. Is your state taking any measures to exterminate flies and mosquitoes?

6. What state laws regulate the water supply of cities and towns?

7. What laws in regard to purity of food are in force in your state? What officers enforce these laws? What powers and duties have they?

8. Is your state taking any active measures for the prevention of tuberculosis? If so, describe these.

9. How is your state board of health organized? What are its chief activities and duties?

10. What has the state board of health done recently to improve the public health or to stamp out disease?

CHAPTER XXIII

THE JUDICIAL POWER OF THE STATE

The Old Method of Punishing Criminals. — One of the most important branches of the state's work is the administration of justice; that is, the fair settlement of legal disputes, the protection of citizens against fraud, the punishment of criminals, and similar matters. In olden times many crimes were punished by the injured person or his relatives. The punishments, of course, were often excessively severe. The relatives of the criminal would defend him, and seek for vengeance upon the family which had punished him. Thus the two families would become bitter enemies, and often their quarrels would be taken up by their friends, so that disorder and murder would be common. In all the more civilized parts of the world it is now seen that such a state of affairs is very objectionable, as it means that one crime leads to another year after year.

Advantages in Punishment by the Government. — It has been found much better to give over to governments the

power to punish crime. There are several reasons why this is an improvement on the old system. The punishments are more likely to be fair when they are laid down by law than when they are planned by the injured person. Since the judge and the jury are not friends or enemies of either side, and their decision is impartial, there is no excuse for undertaking a quarrel with them and committing more crimes. The criminal is sure of having his side of the story heard in court; and in case a person is falsely accused, he has the opportunity to prove his innocence. Judges and official trials have existed from early times, but they were often ignored by persons who preferred private vengeance. To-day, however, all modern governments have complete power to deal with lawbreakers, and a person who commits a crime of vengeance is punished for it. The result is that we have much more order and safety than formerly.

Judicial Power of the States. — In the United States most crimes are punished by the individual states. Treason and certain other crimes against the nation are punished by the federal government, but it cannot undertake the work of doing justice in every case of lawbreaking in this great country. As we already know, minor violations of law are punished by the city; but it is the state which punishes for murder, arson, burglary, forgery, and many other offenses. A man who commits such a crime is considered to be a dangerous person to every one in the state; therefore, the state inflicts the penalty for his offense. Other reasons why the state, rather than the city, does this work are as follows: some crimes are committed outside of cities; few cities could afford to maintain prisons suitable for the retention and training of men who must remain in them for long periods of time, particularly as only a few persons

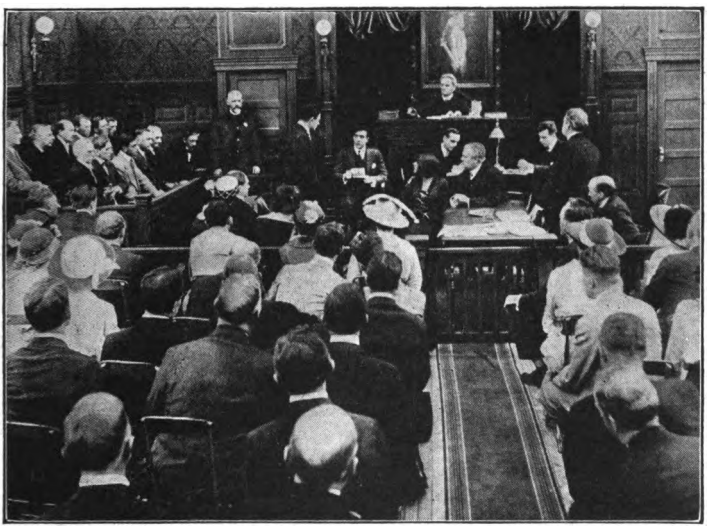
would occupy the prisons; one man may rob banks or commit other crimes in several different cities, and the best way to punish him is to place him in the hands of the state.

The authority to try offenders, punish crime, and decide legal disputes justly, is known as the judicial power. The state exercises its judicial power by means of a system of courts. It permits cities, villages, and other subdivisions to take over some of the work of doing justice by establishing courts for the trial of unimportant cases, as we have seen.

Justices of the Peace and Municipal Courts. — The lowest court is held by a justice of the peace, who decides disputes over small amounts or tries persons accused of petty offenses. Thus, if the man renting your father's house will not pay his rent for the month, the case may be brought before the justice of the peace. If a boy steals your watch, he likewise might be brought to this court for trial. In large cities there are often established two courts that do the ordinary work of the justice of the peace. One of these courts may hear civil cases, or cases in which only property or money is involved; while the other may hear the cases of persons accused of petty stealing, fighting, spitting on the sidewalk, and like offenses.

County Courts. — In most states, also, there are county courts; that is, courts that hear and decide certain cases arising in the county. They, as a rule, hear cases of more importance than the cases tried in the courts of the justice of the peace or the municipal courts. Questions involving larger sums of money are brought before them, and in many instances they hear appeals from the lower courts. That is, if one of the parties believes that he did not secure justice in the court of the justice of the peace, or in the municipal court, he may have the case tried in the higher court.

District Courts and the Supreme Court. — In many states there is a district, superior, or circuit court, which may try cases involving any amount of money or any crime. The judges of these courts may be elected from larger districts



The judge who conducts the trial is seated at the raised desk. The jury in their "box" at the left of the picture are listening to the examination of witnesses.

than the county. They hold terms of court in the different parts of the state at different times of the year.

At the head of our state judicial system stands, as a rule, some supreme court or court of last resort. It deals primarily with appeals from the lower courts. Its decisions are final.

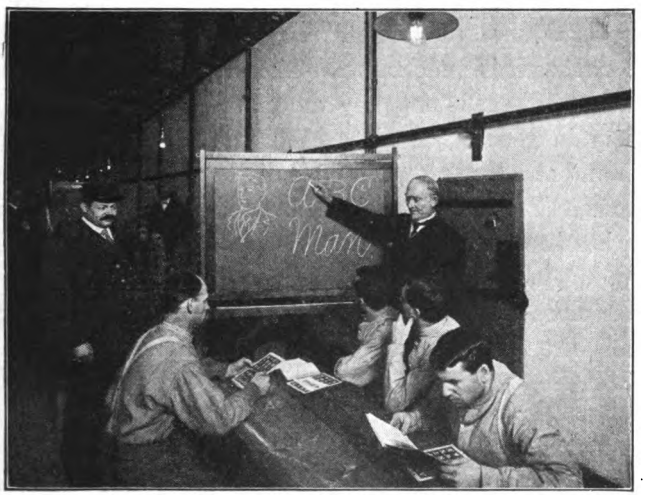
Special Courts. — In many states other courts are organized for special purposes, such as children's courts that deal with wrongdoing by children. We also have probate or surrogate courts that settle the affairs of people who have died.

Trial by Jury. — According to both custom and law, persons accused of serious offenses have the right to be tried by a jury. A jury is a body of men, usually twelve in number, who decide whether or not the prisoner's guilt is proved. Each prisoner is entitled to appear in court before the judge and the jury, to tell his side of the case, to produce witnesses in his defense, to hear the witnesses against him, and to have the advice and help of a lawyer. The case against the prisoner is conducted by an officer known as a prosecuting attorney. He explains to the jury the reasons why the prisoner has been brought to trial, and calls witnesses to give evidence against him. Of course, the prisoner's lawyer tries by means of argument and witnesses to prove the man's innocence.

After both sides have completed their evidence and arguments, the judge explains to the jury what points they should consider in making their decision, and tells them about the law in regard to the case before them. The jury are then taken to a private room, where they decide upon their verdict. If it is "guilty," the judge pronounces sentence; that is, tells the prisoner what his punishment is to be.

The Legal Penalty for Crime. — In giving sentence, the judge is always guided by law. For example, the law may say that a certain minor offense shall be punished by a fine of not less than fifty dollars nor more than one hundred and fifty dollars; or that a greater crime shall be punished by imprisonment of not less than two years nor more than five years. The judge cannot give sentences outside these limits. If the prisoner has never committed a crime before, the judge will probably give the lightest sentence permitted by law; if the prisoner is an old offender, the judge will probably

give the heaviest legal penalty; but it is the law, rather than the judge's own feelings, by which he is guided. This is much better than permitting the judge to impose any penalty of which he might happen to think, as it prevents easy-going judges from allowing criminals to go almost unpun-



The lesson on the blackboard shows that these prisoners cannot read and write. An education might have helped to keep them out of jail; and it is hoped that they may learn enough here so that after their release they will earn their living in honest ways.

ished, while at the same time it prevents those of severe nature from imposing unfairly heavy penalties.

Some civil cases — that is, disputes about money or property — are also tried before a jury; but very minor cases, both civil and criminal, are tried by the judge alone.

The County Jail and the State Prison. — When it is considered necessary to imprison a person as a penalty for crime, he is sent to either a county jail or a state prison, according to the nature of his offense and the length of his imprisonment.

The county jail is managed by local authorities, but it is really a part of the state system of penal institutions; for, as we have already learned, the county is in many respects acting for the state. As persons are sent to county jails for short terms, not much attempt is made to educate or train the prisoners in these institutions. In most state prisons, however, where the inmates are serving long terms, educational work is undertaken. The idea is spreading rapidly that it will benefit not only the inmates of the prisons, but society in general, to place each prisoner in a position to earn an honest living when he is discharged. In many state prisons, classes are held for the benefit of those whose education has been neglected, useful trades are taught, and every encouragement is given the prisoners to resolve upon leading honest lives after their release. Much has already been done in this direction, and more is being accomplished every year.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Why is it necessary that criminals shall be punished?
2. Distinguish between punishment and revenge.
3. Why is the punishment of wrongdoers more likely to be just when administered by public officials than when left to private individuals? What do you mean by just punishment?
4. Why do the states, rather than cities or the federal government, punish most persons guilty of serious crimes?
5. What is a court? What is a trial?
6. Why should a person accused of wrongdoing be given a trial?
7. Why is a person tried even if he confesses that he has committed the crime of which he is accused?
8. Why are several courts of various grades needed?
9. Why should persons sometimes be permitted to appeal from the decision of one court to a higher court?
10. What is a jury? Why are most important cases tried with the help of a jury, instead of being left to the judge alone?

11. Why are most up-to-date prisons introducing educational work of various sorts? What should be the objects of sending a man to prison? What kind of treatment is most likely to help a criminal to reform?

CHAPTER XXIV

THE LEGISLATIVE POWER OF THE STATE

The Lawmaking Body. — In every governmental organization there must be some person or persons with authority to make the rules and regulations, or laws. In all the state governments in the United States the bodies, or groups of men, that do this work are called legislatures. The legislature in each state is chosen by the people and given the power and right to make all rules and regulations for the state. This authority is called the legislative power. The laws made by a state legislature must not conflict with the national Constitution, with federal laws and treaties, or with the state constitution. Except for these limitations, the legislature can make all the laws that are necessary for the health, safety, protection, and welfare of the people of the state.

The Two Houses of the Legislature. — In every state of the Union the legislature is composed of two branches. One of these, known as the lower house, is usually called the house of representatives or the assembly; while the other, or the upper house, is usually called the senate. As a rule the lower house is much larger than the upper, consisting of from fifty to one hundred and fifty members; while the upper house consists of only about thirty to fifty members. Ordinarily the members of the lower house are about three times as numerous as those of the upper house. The mem-

bers of the lower house are elected from smaller districts than the members of the upper house. The result of this is that usually the upper house is composed of men of more ability than the lower house; for as a rule the larger the district from which a man is chosen, the better will be the man, as the voters have a wider choice. In many states, also, the senators have longer terms than the representatives. It is these differences that make the upper house generally more powerful than the lower house.

Reasons for a Two-house Legislature. — If we should ask the reason for having two houses of the legislature instead of one, the reply would be that it is largely historical. When the state governments were first established, it was believed by many of the men who framed their constitutions that if there were only one house, the great majority of the people, being without property or land, would elect representatives who might injure the property rights of the wealthy. They wished, therefore, to have an upper house that would be composed chiefly of large property owners, in order to keep the multitude of the common people from exercising too much power. In this way the lower house would represent the majority of the people, while the upper house would represent the minority. Many also believed that if only representatives from the common people were elected to office, they would pass much legislation that was hasty and not well considered; while if all laws had to be passed by two houses, they would be thoroughly discussed and carefully framed.

Many people to-day believe that, since it has been shown that the ordinary representatives of the people do not violate the rights of the wealthy, and since having two houses simply causes slowness and confusion and lack of

responsibility for the making of good laws, it is best, perhaps, to have a one-house legislature. However, no state has as yet established such a legislature.

Election of Representatives. — The members of both houses of the legislature, in every state, are chosen by the people. In most states one or more members of the lower house are chosen by the people of the county. In many states the members of the upper house, or the senate, are chosen from larger districts, usually composed of several counties. In all cases the people vote directly for those who represent them. Whether or not we have good government in our states, therefore, depends to a large degree upon the intelligence of the people in choosing these representatives. If the people are able to choose good, honest, and capable men, the affairs of the states will be carried out in the right way. If, however, they choose bad men or men without ability, the work of the state government, which we must always remember is a part of our own work, will suffer. It should be the duty of each citizen, therefore, before he votes, to look up the record of each man who is running for the legislature in order to find out who is most likely to serve the people well.

The Presiding Officer. — Just as it is impossible for a roomful of people to make plans when all are talking at once, so likewise it is impossible for the legislature. Every legislature, therefore, has its own rules and regulations telling how it shall carry on business. In order that every one shall not talk at once, and that order may be preserved, each house of the legislature has a presiding officer. This officer is usually called the speaker. The speaker has a good deal of power, as he has the right to recognize a member who desires to speak; that is, to allow him to address the

house. He also has considerable power in appointing committees.

Standing Committees. — Besides having rules stating who shall speak and how he shall speak, it is also necessary to divide the work that such a large body must do. The members of the legislature must plan for the collection of money; they must plan for expending money; they must plan for the making of laws on very many subjects. It is almost impossible for every member to make a deep and careful study of every problem that comes before the legislature, as some of the more important problems demand weeks of investigation. Therefore it is customary to appoint committees, each of which is to study certain problems and report to the entire house the results of its investigation. The recommendations of the committee are usually considered and discussed by the legislature before the final vote is taken.

The Initiative. — About half the states in our Union provide some means of permitting the people to take a direct part in lawmaking, instead of leaving this function entirely to the legislature. In some states the people have the power known as the initiative; that is, the right to begin lawmaking, by obtaining a certain number of signatures to a proposed law or constitutional amendment. When the requisite signatures are obtained, the legislature must vote upon the measure, or the people must be given the opportunity to vote upon it at an election, according to the laws of the particular state.

The Referendum. — The referendum is the right enjoyed by the people in some states to have bills, or proposed laws, referred to them for approval, after being passed by the legislature. The exact circumstances under which this is

done vary from state to state. In most states where the referendum exists, if a certain number of voters sign a petition asking that the people be given an opportunity to vote upon a measure before it actually becomes law, an election must be held; and if the measure is defeated in this election, it fails to become law.

The initiative thus gives the people an opportunity to secure desirable laws, and the referendum enables them to protect themselves from undesirable ones. As we have already learned, the referendum is found in practically every state in regard to constitutional amendments and unusual expenditures, but it is not so widespread in regard to ordinary legislation.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. What is legislative power? Why is it essential that all divisions of government shall possess this power? What is a legislature?

2. What are the exact titles of the upper and the lower houses of your state legislature? How many members are elected to each house? Name the members of these houses who represent the part of the state where you live.

3. Explain why the two-house legislature is common in the United States. What are the arguments in its favor? What are the arguments in favor of a one-house legislature?

4. When did your state legislature hold its latest session? Name some important measures passed by it. Was there general satisfaction with its work? If not, who are to blame? Explain your answer.

5. Why is a great deal of the work of legislatures done by committees? Why is not every measure fully discussed by the entire legislature?

6. What are the powers of the speaker? What principles should guide him in appointing committees?

7. Explain initiative and referendum. What is the value of each? Could either of these rights be misused? Explain.

CHAPTER XXV

THE EXECUTIVE POWER OF THE STATE

Enforcing the Laws. — Laws would be of little use unless there were some man or body of men to enforce them. For instance, there would be no use in making a law that the schools should be in session eight months in the year, unless somebody were made responsible for carrying on the schools. Those people in any government who carry out the laws are called executives. Most of the state constitutions provide that the governor of the state shall be the chief executive; that is, the one to whom the people must look to see that the laws of the state are carried out. Working with him, there are several other state officials who help him enforce the laws.

Qualifications of the Governor. — In each state in the Union we have a governor, who is always elected by the people. He is considered responsible for the enforcing of the laws of the state. Many states prescribe certain qualifications for this office, among which are citizenship in the state, sometimes a certain length of residence in the state, and often a requirement as to age. Except in a very few states, there are no property qualifications.

The Governor's Influence on Legislation. — The governor has a considerable amount of power, as a rule. Though he has no direct influence in the making of laws, his indirect influence is large. Often he is the leader of his political party in the state, and so the members of the legislature more or less follow him. He has a right to make recommendations to the legislature, and these are likely to be adopted by the party leaders in the legislature and made into laws.

In all the states except one, the governor has the power of vetoing laws; that is, he has the power to withhold his consent to any bill that the legislature may pass. In case he does this, the bill does not become law unless passed again by a two-thirds vote of both houses. Because the governor has this power, he may keep bills from being considered, or from being passed, by a threat to veto them.

The governor also has power, under certain circumstances, to call a special session of the legislature to consider measures that he deems important. As the measures are thus forced on the attention of the members of the legislature and they can consider no others at a special session, the governor is often able to secure legislation in this way.

Thus, we see that a good deal of power in planning the work of the state and its laws is in the hands of the governor. Since he is elected by the people of all the state instead of only a small district, they naturally look to him as the one to determine, to a large extent, the plans of the state.

The Power of Appointment. — The governor's power of appointment gives him great influence. He has many boards, commissions, and officers to appoint. In many states he appoints the members of the board of health, the board of agriculture, the board of parole, the prison commission, and various other officers. The power of appointment and removal of officers gives him a certain control over the administration of these departments, for an officer is likely to consider the wishes of the person who appoints and removes him.

The Governor's Military Power. — The governor in every state is the commander in chief of the state militia, except in time of actual war; and as such, he has large powers in putting down riots, insurrections, and disturb-

ances. In case of war or insurrection within the boundaries of the United States, or in case military power is needed to enforce its laws, Congress may call state militia to the aid of the federal government. (Constitution of the United States, Article I, Section 8, paragraph 15.) This was done in 1916, when troops were sent to the Mexican border.

The Pardoning Power. — To the governor belongs the rather important power of pardoning those who have been convicted of crime, if in his opinion there is some good reason for giving them lenient treatment.

Other Executive Officers. — The governor, of course, is not the only state executive officer. There are many chairmen of boards and commissions, and numerous other executive officers, such as the secretary of state, the attorney general, the state treasurer, and the state superintendent of public instruction, each of whom is placed in charge of certain branches of the state's work. It is not necessary for us to consider the duties of these officers, as we have already learned something of the work done by their departments.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. What is an executive? What is executive power? Who is the chief executive of each of our states?
2. Explain how the governor can influence the making of laws, even though he has no direct legislative power. What is meant by a veto? How does the governor's veto power help him in influencing legislation?
3. Why do most states give the governor power to appoint the heads of executive boards?
4. Under what conditions may a governor call out the state militia? When does it pass out of his command?

CHAPTER XXVI

STATE FINANCES

Sources of State Revenue. — We have seen in former chapters that the state carries out a great many activities. Each of these activities evidently requires the expenditure of money. Where do the states get the money to do all this work? If we examined the financial systems of all the states, we should see that there are many different sources from which money may be obtained. A state like New York, for instance, may raise large sums by charging a small amount on each sale of stock. A state like Oklahoma, which has vast stores of oil, zinc, and other metals, may levy a small tax on each dollar's worth of oil or zinc produced. But most of the states have the same sources, though they have some special ways of collecting revenue; that is, raising money toward the expenses of government.

Property Tax. — By far the largest amount of state revenue is derived from the general property tax. This tax usually consists of a certain number of cents or mills on the dollar for each dollar's worth of property in the state. Thus, if a man has ten thousand dollars' worth of land, buildings, horses, cows, and furniture, and the state tax is one cent on every dollar of valuation, he would pay one hundred dollars in taxes to the state.

Often the state exempts a certain amount of property from taxation; as a rule, about three hundred dollars. We generally consider that persons who have less than this amount of property are hardly able to pay taxes. Certain charitable, educational, and religious institutions are often excused from paying the general property tax.

Income Tax. — A number of states obtain a part of their revenues by taxing the incomes of their citizens. Exemptions are always made, so that the tax is borne by those best able to pay.

Inheritance Tax. — Another source of revenue that is being used by some states is the inheritance tax. This is a tax levied upon property that passes to others after the death of the person owning it. In some cases, if the amount transferred is small, the tax is very light, but it rises as the amount of the property transferred increases. In New York, for instance, no tax at all is levied upon less than five thousand dollars, provided it goes to a very near relative. On property valued from five thousand to fifty thousand dollars, one per cent is levied; on property worth from fifty thousand to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, two per cent is levied. This tax increases as the amount of property given away increases, until on all amounts of over one million dollars, a four per cent tax is levied.

Taxes on Corporations. — Many states secure revenue from corporations. Some of them charge all companies organized in the state an organization tax, or a tax upon the right to do business as a corporation. Some states also charge corporations organized in other states a license tax for the privilege of doing business within their borders. There is also, in some states, a tax on the right that is given a corporation to use streets and public highways.

Poll Tax. — In many of the Southern states the government receives some revenue from the poll tax, which is a small tax, usually a dollar or so, upon each individual or each male inhabitant in the state between certain ages.

Income from Property and Service. — Nearly all states receive some income from public property, such as the sale

or renting of lands, tolls for the use of canals, or charges for other services furnished by the state.

Income from Fines and License Fees. — All states obtain money from fines and penalties of various sorts, and many receive considerable revenue from charging license fees for the use of automobiles, for permission to hunt game, and for other privileges.

Restrictions on Expenditures. — The state legislature is the body charged with planning how the state's money shall be spent. Nearly all states provide some restrictions upon the amount of money that the legislature may expend. Many of them also require a vote of the people for large expenditures of money, such as are needed for the building of highways and canals.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Since the work of the state is carried on for the public welfare, who should pay for this work?
2. How does the state obtain money to pay its expenses? Why does it exempt certain persons and institutions from taxation?
3. Name the principal kinds of taxes levied by the state. What other sources of revenue can you mention?
4. Secure the latest report of your state treasurer, and see if you can discover sources of revenue which have not been discussed in the text. Which of these might be used in every state? Which of them depend on certain local conditions?
5. Why do most state constitutions limit the authority of the legislature to expend money?
6. Why is it customary to call for a popular vote when large sums are to be expended?

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER XXVII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Why a National Government is Needed. — We saw in Chapter III that city governments are not large enough units to carry out some important kinds of work that we must do collectively, such as building and repairing highways, furnishing protection to the citizens traveling over the state, and giving justice to all citizens. If we think a moment, we can easily see that even the state government is not a large enough unit to look after all our interests. Let us consider why this is so.

Suppose you were an orange grower in California and wished to ship oranges to Chicago or New York. If each state had a right to charge you for letting the oranges pass through its territory — as it would have, if the states were not united into a nation — you can easily see that by the time you had paid all these charges you would have to ask such a high price for your oranges that no one would wish to purchase them. Or suppose that a railway company wished to build a line from New York to San Francisco and found that two or three of the states, which the line must cross, would not let the railroad go through their territory. You can readily see what difficulty might be experienced.

National Control of Commerce. — Let us imagine again that we had no national government and that each state

could do as it pleased in every way. Texas might charge citizens of Oklahoma, Kansas, and Colorado such high tariffs on all oil or wheat shipped from the port of Galveston to Europe that it would not be profitable to raise wheat or to produce oil. Probably if Texas tried to do this, the other three states would unite, form an army, and try to secure a port on the Gulf of Mexico in order to be free from paying this tariff. We can see that if the complete control of commerce were left to state governments, they would continually be fighting one another. As it is, however, the national government guarantees that all goods may be shipped between states without any duty or charge whatsoever. The result is that one of the main causes of warfare between the states is removed.

National Protection against Enemies. — If we had forty-eight states all jealous of one another and quarreling with one another, we can see how easily any one state might be defeated by a European nation or any other nation. If Texas had to depend entirely on herself for protection against Mexico and also had hostile states on her north, she would continually be fearing for her safety. As it is now, with all the states working together for their protection through the national government, it would be almost impossible for any nation to defeat us.

From these few illustrations it is evident that we need a national government.

The First Union of the States. — As all of us know who have studied history, the first union of the states took place in 1777, when the Continental Congress adopted the "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union." By this step the thirteen colonies entered into a rather loose union or confederation.

Financial Weakness. — This confederation soon proved too weak to do the things that the people considered a national government should do. One reason for its weakness was the fact that Congress had to depend on the individual states for money instead of collecting it in the form of taxes from individuals. As the states were careless and slow in making payment, and Congress had no way of forcing them to do better, the national government soon found that it was unable to pay its debts or carry on its work; for a government, like a person, cannot work without money.

Commercial Rivalry. — There was also much commercial rivalry between the states. Each state was trying to levy high tariffs or importation duties on the goods of each other state. This resulted in much bad feeling between the states, and there was even danger that they might go to war with one another for these reasons. Since the national government did not have sufficient control over commerce, it could not remedy this bad situation.

Weakness in Foreign Relations. — The foreign commerce of the states was equally bad. England and other European countries did not respect the states or believe in their power, and so levied high tariffs against them. Because the states were weak and were quarreling among themselves, they could not retaliate.

Weakness in Defense. — The nation was also unable to protect itself from danger from foreign aggression. It could not collect enough money to prepare for defense, and it had to depend on jealous states for its supply of troops. It had no power itself such as the national government has to-day to say to each man, "You are needed in the army." Before it could get any men, it had to secure the consent of the states.

The Constitutional Convention. — These and other reasons made the patriotic and thoughtful men of the country determine to amend and change the Articles of Confederation in such a way that the national government would have more power.

Several times the question of making such changes was suggested. Finally at a convention at Annapolis in 1786, called to make an agreement regarding the navigation of the Potomac, Alexander Hamilton of New York suggested that all the states send representatives to a convention to be held in Philadelphia for the purpose of giving more power to the national government. All the states except Rhode Island responded to this call and sent delegates. Among these delegates were many of the famous men of the country, including George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, Edmund Randolph, and Alexander Hamilton. Many of them had had training in government and practical administration. Several, in fact, had been governors of their own states or had taken some other part in public life. It is rather interesting to note that although a college education was a rare thing in those days, more than one half the members of the convention were college graduates.

Adoption of the Constitution. — After holding sessions from May to September, this convention completed a Constitution which was submitted to the states for ratification. It was provided by the convention that as soon as nine of the states had ratified the Constitution it should go into effect. The required number of states had ratified it by the midsummer of 1788, and the other four states gave their consent later. By this Constitution powers were given to the national government which remedied the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation.

Growing Power of the National Government. — When the government of the United States under the Constitution was first established, there were many who believed that it would not be a success. Many more believed that the state governments would continue to be stronger than the national government. Neither of these predictions, however, has proved true, for during every year from its beginning until the present time the power of the national government has been steadily growing.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Of what value is our national government in keeping peace among the states?
2. What is its value in protecting us from foreign enemies?
3. How does the national government help to make travel and commerce easy and safe?
4. What were the Articles of Confederation? What were the chief defects and weaknesses of these Articles? What were the relations of the states to one another at this time?
5. Describe the convention at which our present federal Constitution was adopted. What kind of men composed this convention?
6. What was the chief difference between the new Constitution and the old Articles of Confederation?

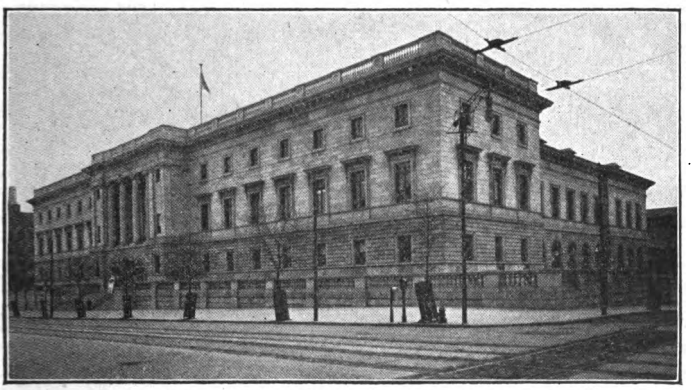
CHAPTER XXVIII

WHAT THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT DOES

National Welfare. — The national government carries out so many different kinds of work that it is impossible in this book to describe any but the most important. We shall see, in examining it, that it works for the welfare of the citizens at large, instead of for those in only a small community.

Foreign Relations. — In the first place, the national government rather than the state government has complete control over all dealings of the United States with other countries. It is the national government that declares war and makes peace with other nations. Only the national government has the right to maintain an army and a navy.

Foreign Commerce. — All regulation of foreign commerce is in the hands of the national government. If certain



The Mint at Philadelphia. Here gold, silver, and nickel are made into coins, and stamped with the designs that distinguish the coins of the United States.

goods are not allowed to come in from a foreign country, it is the national government that acts in this matter rather than the state governments. Also, if it is decided to make a charge for letting goods come in from a foreign country, the regulation of this charge is left to the national government.

Coining Money. — The national government is given control over all currency used in the country. It alone has the right to coin money.

Interstate Commerce. — All commerce between the states is regulated by the national government. It is therefore the national government, and not the state, which regulates the rates the railways shall charge between two cities in different states.

Immigration and Naturalization. — The national government determines what people may come into the United States from foreign countries, and what people cannot come. It also says who may become a citizen of the United States.

Postal Service. — The post offices and post roads are under the control of the national government. In connection with the Post Office Department, it conducts the parcel post system and the postal savings bank.

These are only a few of the many important services which the government of the United States performs for its citizens. In the following chapters we shall examine some of them in more detail.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. What is the principal difference between the work of the national government and the work of a state or a city?
2. Name some of the powers of the national government. Why has each of these powers been given to it, rather than to the states?

CHAPTER XXIX

PUBLIC DEFENSE

National Control of Army and Navy. — It is easy for us to see why public defense should be a national function rather than a function carried out by the states. It is much less expensive to have one large army than to have forty-eight armies, one in each state. It is much more efficient

to have the whole army under one command rather than under many commands. This was shown in the World War, when the command of all the allied armies was intrusted to General Foch. If the states are not allowed to keep armies, there is much less danger that they will fight among themselves.

The same reasons and others might be given for letting the national government alone control the navy.

Military Powers of Congress. — The lawmaking body of the United States, the Congress, is given not only the very important power of declaring war, but also the power of raising and supporting armies. This power is without any limitation, except that Congress shall make no appropriations of money for this purpose for a longer term than two years.

The Regular Army. — It has never been the policy of the United States to maintain a large standing army, after the example of many European nations. She has relied, in case of emergency, upon the militia of the several states and upon volunteers.

The regular army has always been recruited by volunteers and has always been rather small. In Washington's term of office as President, it contained only about 5000 men; during the Civil War, Congress authorized the increase of the standing army to 35,000 men; during the Spanish American War it was increased to 65,000, and by a provision of the National Defense Act of 1916 the army was increased to 207,000.

The Power to Support Armies. — Under its power to support armies, Congress may carry on many functions. During the recent war, by virtue of this power Congress established the systems of food and fuel administration; officers' training schools were established in most of the

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Though Congress, rather than the President, has the power to declare war, the President may request Congress to do so. This picture shows President Wilson delivering a "war message" to Congress, April 2, 1917.

colleges and universities of the United States; the regulation of health and disease was undertaken in the cities near training camps; and railroad lines were built in France. In fact, during a great war Congress can bend every energy of the country toward the winning of that war.

Control of the Army. — At the head of the army and the navy is the President of the United States, who has general supervision and control over all military and naval activities. Directly under him is the Secretary of War, who has charge of the organization, equipment, and control of the army. The Secretary of War is a civilian who is appointed by the President. We can thus see that, although the army is powerful, it is always under the control of the people, for it is supported and raised by Congress, the power to declare war rests with Congress alone, and the army is directly under the command of the President.

Development of the Navy. — The navy of to-day really began in 1885, when a complete reorganization of the Navy Department took place. Some years later, the Spanish-American War showed us the importance of a large navy, and since that period our naval program has steadily been growing, until at the opening of the World War ours stood third in the navies of the world. It has been rapidly developed until now only Great Britain has a larger navy.

The President is the commander in chief of the navy. The actual work of supervision of the navy is under the Secretary of the Navy.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Give as many reasons as you can why it is better for our country to defend itself by means of one army and one navy, instead of allowing each state to have an army and a navy.

2. When our government was established, the founders were anxious to make it impossible for military power to control the country. With this in mind, explain

(*a*) Why Congress is forbidden to appropriate money to support an army for more than two years.

(*b*) Why our standing army has always been small in comparison with the armies of great European countries.

(*c*) Why the President of the United States is made commander in chief of the army and the navy.

3. Read the Constitution of the United States, Article I, Section 8, paragraphs 11–18. Name as many things as possible which Congress has done with the object of "carrying into execution the foregoing powers," although these things are not actually named in the Constitution.

4. What facts in regard to our geographical situation and our colonial possessions make it necessary for the United States to maintain a large navy?

5. What measures are being taken to train college men and others, so that even without maintaining a large standing army, we can always be sure of a good-sized reserve force?

CHAPTER XXX

THE REGULATION OF COMMERCE AND OF IMMIGRATION

The Power of Congress. — Congress is given the power by the Constitution to regulate both foreign commerce and commerce between the states. We have seen in Chapter XXVII why it is necessary that this work should be under the control of the national government rather than the state.

Our Exports and Imports. — In 1919 the United States exported $7,225,084,257 worth of merchandise and received from other countries merchandise amounting to $3,095,876,582. We can see that the regulation of such an immense amount of trade is a very important matter. We may well

ask the question, " How does Congress regulate foreign commerce? "

Tariff on Imports. — The chief regulation upon foreign commerce consists of levying taxes on certain goods that come into the United States. This is done for several reasons. It is an easy way to collect revenue to help pay the expenses of government. Those who approve of high taxes, or tariffs, on imported goods claim that these tariffs help new industries in this country, by keeping out foreign competition until the industries are well started here, or at least by making the foreign goods so high priced that people will prefer to buy the American-made articles. They also claim that the tariff is good for workingmen. They say that the manufacturer who is selling goods made in America at a high price can afford to pay high wages, while if he had to cut down his prices to compete with foreign goods, he would have to cut wages also.

On the other hand, those who oppose high tariffs claim that the buyer, not the manufacturer, ought to be considered; and that it is not fair to protect manufacturers and let them ask high prices, when they would have to sell goods more cheaply if low-priced foreign articles were allowed to come in without charge. They claim that the manufacturers who do not enjoy the protection of the high tariff pay just the same wages as those who do; while the latter are simply enabled to make very large profits which benefit nobody but themselves. They say, also, that any industry which cannot be carried on without the high tariff to protect it (except a new, or "infant" industry, which may need a little help) is not necessary to the general welfare; and that the money invested in it ought to be used in some other field of business, where it can earn profits without forcing the public to pay high prices.

This question of the tariff has been one of the great political questions before the people of the United States for a whole century. It has, to a large extent, divided the country into two parties. The Republicans contend for a high tariff for the reasons given above; while the Democrats contend that we should have a tariff for revenue only.

Since 1916 we have had a tariff commission, whose duties are to make a study of the tariff needs of the different parts of the country. The actual making of the tariff is, however, left to Congress.

The Need of Restricting Immigration. — Another important duty undertaken by our national government, through Congress, is the regulation of immigration. If every person in the whole world were absolutely free to come to the United States to live, we can see that the country would soon have an enormous population, with all kinds of religion, all the different languages of the world, and many different customs. Many people might come into the United States who would not make good citizens. If all these people actually came to us, we might find so many differences among them that it would be impossible for them to coöperate and work together for the welfare of the country. If there were no public control over immigration, we might soon find that other countries were sending us all their paupers, their criminals, and their defective classes. For these and other reasons it is necessary that the government shall have control over immigration.

Restrictions on Immigrants. — Congress, therefore, passes laws saying what people can come into the United States and under what conditions. Under the present law, admission is refused to aliens who are illiterate, who have certain physical and mental defects, who have been criminals,

who are morally defective, who may become paupers, or who are cheap contract laborers, that is, people who have made a contract to work for some employer at wages so low that they cannot live decently in this country. Some oriental peoples are also excluded.

Examination of Aliens. — Before an alien can come into the United States, he must be examined, to prove that he

The women at the left of the picture are seeking admission to the United States. Each one will be examined in turn. The woman seated by the table is now taking her examination.

is not a member of any of the debarred races, that he has a strong body, that he has no serious mental defects, that he can read and write some language, that he is not morally defective, that he is not an anarchist or a polygamist, is not a contract laborer, or has not been assisted to immigrate. The alien must pay a tax of $8 to the government for the cost of making the examinations. How large is this problem

of examining all the immigrants may be gathered from the fact that from 1905 to 1914 an average of over a million immigrants came to this country annually.

Bureau of Immigration. — In order that the work of examination and exclusion may be well carried out, it is intrusted to the bureau of immigration, at the head of which is the commissioner general of immigration. This bureau is a subdivision of the Department of Labor, about which we shall hear later. It maintains various stations at the principal ports of the United States, where the immigrants may be examined. The most important of these stations are at New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, Galveston, San Francisco, and Seattle.

Regulating Interstate Commerce. — By the Constitution, Congress is given the power to regulate and control commerce between the states. There are many ways in which it does this. It may regulate the rates charged by railway companies or other companies engaged in interstate commerce, may regulate the kinds of service that shall be given, may make requirements as to safety appliances, may prevent combinations in restraint of trade between states (that is, any sort of agreement or arrangement which will interfere with the ordinary course of business), may inspect drugs and foods, and may regulate many other matters. In all these cases it establishes agencies to carry out the law. The principal agencies that do the actual work of regulating interstate commerce are as follows:

1. *The Interstate Commerce Commission* has charge of carrying out the federal laws in regard to railway and steamship companies, sleeping car and express car companies, telephone and telegraph companies, and oil pipe companies, whenever they are engaged in interstate commerce. This

commission is charged with the duty of seeing that these companies charge reasonable rates, that they do not discriminate between shippers or localities, and other matters.

2. *The Federal Trade Commission* has the task of seeing that persons, partnerships, and corporations do not use unfair methods of competition in interstate commerce. In case the commission believes that unfair practices are being used, it makes an investigation and has a hearing. At the end of this hearing the commission makes an order which must be obeyed by the party that has been unfair. This commission also gathers, puts in shape, and publishes information on the organization, methods of management, and practices of any corporation engaged in interstate trade, with the exception of banks and railroad companies, which are controlled in a different manner.

Purpose of National Regulations. — The objects of the national government in regulating foreign commerce, interstate commerce, and immigration are to secure the prosperity of all the American people, to prevent undesirable foreigners from injuring them in any way, and to do justice to both business interests and the general public.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Explain what is meant by a tariff on imports.
2. Show clearly why a tariff makes the price of the goods higher.
3. What arguments are given by those who favor high tariffs? Explain fully each of these.
4. What arguments are given by those who oppose high tariff? Explain each one carefully.
5. What is meant by "tariff for revenue only"?
6. Why does Congress place restrictions upon immigration from foreign countries?

7. What qualities make an immigrant a desirable citizen? What qualities make him undesirable?

8. What restriction and conditions has Congress made in regard to immigration?

9. What is interstate commerce?

10. Why is the control of such commerce placed in the hands of Congress, instead of being left to treaties or agreements between the states?

11. Explain some of the ways in which Congress regulates interstate commerce.

12. What is the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission?

13. What is the work of the Federal Trade Commission?

CHAPTER XXXI

THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

The Power of Congress. — In Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution of the United States, Congress is given the power "to establish post offices and post roads." It has used this power to develop our present great postal system, which renders many public services of a very important type.

Value of the Postal Service. — The carrying of letters, cards, newspapers, magazines, and other mail is not only a great convenience to practically every person in the country, but it is a valuable help to all kinds of business. The distribution of newspapers and periodicals does much to educate the public, and for this reason the charges for carrying such things are made as low as possible.

Foreign Mail Service. — Agreements are made with foreign countries in regard to the exchange of mail service, so that communication is possible among persons in almost all parts of the world.

The Parcel Post. — The parcel post service has been of great benefit to the public. Though it was established only a short time ago, going into effect on January 1, 1913, it has already come to be looked upon as indispensable. Persons living on farms or in parts of the country removed from large markets and stores, as well as from railways and express offices, are now able to order goods by mail, and to receive them promptly through the parcel post service.

Rural Mail Delivery. —The rural delivery mail routes have done much to make country life happier. Instead of being shut off from the outside world, as in the past, with no newspapers, magazines, or letters available except when an occasional journey could be made to the nearest town, those who live in the rural districts to-day are in daily touch with public affairs and personal friends, through the rural delivery system.

Special Postal Privileges. — The privilege of having mail registered or insured for a small extra payment is very valuable indeed to those who wish to send important documents or costly goods through the mail with almost positive certainty that they will be delivered in safety. When it is necessary that a piece of mail shall reach its destination as quickly as possible, special delivery service may be secured in all cities and many smaller places. As soon as a special delivery letter reaches its destination post office, a messenger is sent out to deliver it to the person to whom it is addressed, not waiting for the usual carrier to take it. Another convenient feature of our postal system is the privilege of having purchases sent by mail to be paid for on delivery. This so-called C. O. D. service is very popular.

Postal Savings Banks. — In 1910 Congress passed a law establishing postal savings banks. At first no person was

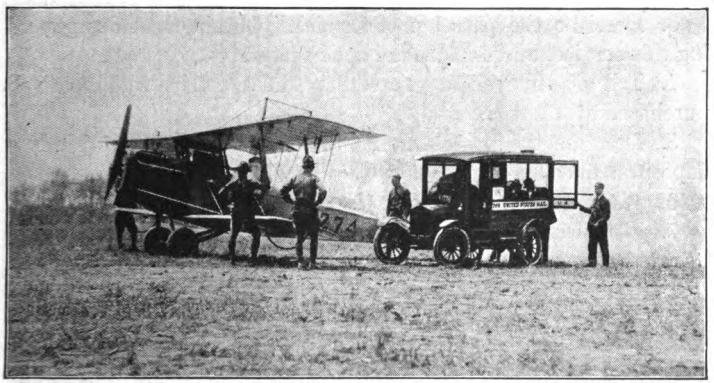
allowed to deposit more than $500 in these banks, but on July 2, 1918, an act took effect which raised this maximum to $2500. The advantage of the postal savings banks over other savings banks is that they will receive deposits as low as one dollar, and that they issue ten-cent stamps which may be saved upon a card until the purchaser has a dollar's worth, which will then be credited to his account when he hands in his card to the postmaster. These stamps are a help in enabling children or persons who have only a very small amount of money to save little by little. Two per cent interest is paid the depositor of funds in these postal savings banks, and the safety of the money deposited is guaranteed by the national government.

Thrift Stamps. — During the World War the system of selling thrift stamps and war-savings certificates through the Post Office Department was put into operation. The sales made in this way were very large During the fiscal year 1918, through the agency of postmasters, 80,965,404 war savings stamps and 201,702,334 thrift stamps were sold. These sales helped the federal government by lending it money to carry on the war, and at the same time helped each purchaser to save money for the future, as the stamps are really certificates of loans which will be repaid by the government.

Postal Money Orders. —A long-established branch of our postal service is the sale of money orders. A person may pay a sum of money to one postmaster, and receive a certificate which he can send to distant parts. The person receiving it will be able to secure the amount of money deposited in the first post office, from his own post office many miles away. The fee for this service is small, and the safe delivery of the money is almost certain. If the order is lost or destroyed, the money will be refunded.

Other Services. — Other types of service given by the Post Office Department are railway mail service, motor vehicle service in cities, and air service between certain cities of the United States. All these branches will develop more and more in the near future.

The work which we have described does not by any means cover all that is done by the Post Office Department; but it will make it clear to us why the Postmaster-General must



The mail which has been brought by airplane from a distant city is being transferred to a motor truck, which will take it from the aviation field to the post office.

have four Assistant Postmasters-General to supervise the various branches of service.

Revenues and Expenses. — There are more than 54,000 post offices in the United States. They employ a large number of persons and do an important business. In the year ending June 30, 1918, the revenues of the postal service were more than $344,000,000, while its expenditures were twenty millions less than this. However, the cost of construction, interest, upkeep, and replacement of federal post office buildings is heavy. If all of these items were counted,

it would be found that the government does not make profits from the postal service, but, on the contrary, renders its great benefits at actual cost or even less than cost.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Of what value to the public is the United States postal service?
2. Why are newspapers and magazines carried for a low rate of postage?
3. Describe the parcel post service. Obtain the rules governing this service, and explain the zone system.
4. Tell of the various special postal services which can be purchased at a low rate.
5. Describe the postal savings bank system. What kinds of depositors find this system of great value?
6. What is a money order? Explain its advantages.
7. Would it be possible for the post office department to lower its rates very much? Explain your answer.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Consequences of Wasting Our Resources. — President Roosevelt once said, before a conference of governors, that "the conservation of our natural resources and their proper use constitute the fundamental problem which underlies almost every other problem of our national life." We can readily see why this is so. If our iron becomes exhausted, we shall have to import steel products from other countries at high cost. When we consider how much our modern civilization depends upon iron and steel, we realize that this alone would make our country much less desirable to live in. If our land becomes worn out through careless use,

it will not raise so much as formerly, and in consequence each farmer will have to work harder, the price of all farm products will increase, and every one will have to live in a less comfortable fashion than before. If we let our forests be used without thought for the future, we shall soon find that it will be difficult to provide enough homes for our people. If we let a few people control our resources and become immensely wealthy, the rest of us are just so much the poorer.

Our Varied Resources. — Our actual resources consist very largely in those great supplies of minerals, forests, and lands with which the United States is so richly endowed. Probably no other country has a greater diversity of these resources.

Wasting the Forests. — The original forests of the United States covered about 850,000,000 square acres. At the present time they cover only about 550,000,000 square acres. But these figures look on paper very much better than the actual facts. While it is true that we have cut or destroyed only about one third of our acreage, this portion represents the very best part of the timber. Much of that which remains consists of inferior kinds of timber and trees of very much less value. At the present rate of consumption it is estimated that our forests will be exhausted within the next forty or fifty years, unless we take definite steps to protect them and start on a large problem of replanting.

Forest Reserves. — The conservation of forests has been started by the government along two main lines. The first is the system of setting aside forest reserves. National forests, of which there are to-day something like 168,000,000 square acres, have been set aside by the federal govern-

ment and are carefully protected by it. Several of the states have also set aside forest reservations. All together, nearly one half of the forest land in the United States is owned by either the states or the national government. Much of this land, however, is not particularly good, and the very best of our timber land is owned and controlled by private individuals and corporations.

See how wastefully this forest has been treated. Much timber is left to decay, and there are no young trees coming on. How long would our forests last if all were treated like this?

Conservation by Fire Prevention and Planting. — The second method of conserving our forests consists in planting trees and preventing fires. The care of the national forests is intrusted to the national forest service, which is a bureau of the Department of Agriculture. The forest service performs many very valuable functions, among which are the

planting and care of young trees, the harvesting of mature timber, the leasing of forest lands for sheep and cattle, and the building of roads through the forests.

Mineral Resources. — Unlike the forests, the mineral resources of the country cannot be replaced after they are exhausted. For many years we fully believed that we had an inexhaustible mineral supply in the United States. With our rapid development in population, however, the use of minerals has increased so greatly that unless careful steps are taken it will be only a few years, relatively speaking, before our best mineral resources have been exhausted and we must depend on the lower grades. Finally, we may find ourselves without these necessary factors of modern civilization.

The mineral resources of the United States may be classified as coal, iron ore, precious metals, oils, building stone, and miscellaneous minerals.

These have all been produced by careless methods which have wasted much valuable material, and the minerals themselves have been used very extravagantly. Coal, for example, has been wasted by the old-fashioned system of mining which left great pillars of this valuable fuel in each mine to support the roof. Of course, artificial supports should be placed in the mines, and the coal should be taken out. Then, coal has been wasted by careless burning, which often led to the throwing away of a good deal of coal in ashes; and also by the use of coal to run machinery or to generate electricity, when water power from streams and falls would have answered the purpose. The same kind of thing is true of the production and use of other mineral resources. The only methods which will remedy the situation are greater care in production, so that no waste

is permitted, and careful and sparing use of the products, in order to make them last as long as possible.

Resources in Land. — Like our other natural resources, land used to be so abundant in the United States that it seemed almost impossible for the supply to run low. But our population has increased from a little more than 5,000,000 people in 1800, to more than 105,000,000 in 1918. In spite of the great additions to our territory since 1800, we have not nearly so much land per capita as we had then. It used to be possible for settlers to find in the western plains miles upon miles of rich fertile land upon which they could settle and make their fortunes. This land was often carelessly used, so that in many cases its richness has been destroyed. The best lands were settled long ago; yet it was necessary to provide more homes for our people and more opportunities for agriculture.

Reclamation of Arid Land. — Both the federal government and the governments of the states became interested in this question, with the result that in 1877 the Desert Land Act was passed, offering large tracts of arid land to settlers at the very low rate of twenty-five cents an acre, on condition that the settlers should do a certain amount of irrigation within three years. This was followed by an act of 1895, providing that the federal government should give lands to the states in the arid sections of the country, on the condition that the states should arrange to have this land irrigated and settled.

In 1902 there was passed an important act providing for the irrigation of certain lands by the federal government itself. The land is sold to settlers, who must also pay the government for the work of irrigation.

This work, and the similar work of draining swampy

lands and otherwise making useless lands into valuable ones, is known as reclamation. It is conducted by a Reclamation Service Bureau under the Department of the Interior (of which we shall hear more later); and in the 1918 report of this department we are told that the reclaimed lands yielded a crop during the previous year "more than that produced for any New England state at the last national census. Thus, in effect, a new state has been added to the nation."

Improved Agricultural Methods. — In addition to reclaiming land, the federal government is doing much to teach the best methods of making use of land. Rotation of crops, testing of soils, the addition of suitable fertilizers in order to keep the land rich, and many other valuable lessons are taught by the literature and agents of the Department of Agriculture. Much of our nation's prosperity depends upon agriculture; and the government is doing all in its power to teach the best and most progressive methods of meeting all agricultural problems. Diseases of livestock, remedies for blights and rusts of various kinds, methods of fighting destructive insects, and numerous other problems are studied carefully by government experts, and the discoveries made by them are printed and circulated, often free of charge. Most states do work of this same type, devoting themselves more particularly to the problems of their own domain. With such helps, our land can be used to the best advantage, so that it will bring forth an abundance of food.

"Care and conscience" are the two essentials which must be required of all who control or use our natural resources. With "care and conscience," we shall be able to supply ourselves abundantly, and yet leave plenty for many generations that will follow us.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. What is meant by natural resources?
2. What are the principal natural resources of the United States? Why is it necessary to use these carefully?
3. Describe the work of the United States in conserving forests.
4. How does the conservation of forests benefit the general public? What would be the result upon the prices of furniture, timber, and wood in all forms, if no such policy were pursued?
5. Can you explain why a number of states are undertaking forest conservation?
6. Why do thoughtful persons emphasize the necessity of great care in our production and use of mineral resources?
7. What is the difference between mineral supplies and forests, as natural resources?
8. Name many ways of helping to conserve mineral resources.
9. What can be done to improve land whose fertility has been destroyed by careless use? Why is it necessary to care for land in a country so large as ours?
10. What is meant by the reclamation of land? What kinds of lands are reclaimed? Describe the various ways in which the work of reclamation is done.
11. Tell all that you can of the work of the United States Department of Agriculture.

CHAPTER XXXIII

PAYING FOR THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT

National Expenditures. — The many and varied activities of the national government require the expenditure of enormous sums of money. This expenditure averages over one billion dollars a year, or about ten dollars per capita — that is, for each man, woman, and child in the United States. Where and how is this money obtained?

Excise Taxes and Customs Duties. — For many years the government derived nearly all its revenue from two sources: internal revenue, or excise taxes laid on liquors of various kinds, tobacco, and a few other articles; and customs duties, or tariffs, laid on imports from foreign countries. The reasons why these taxes were depended upon to such an extent are easy to see.

In the first place, they yield large sums of money. Again, they are quite easy to collect, as inspectors and collectors employed by the government can watch factories and ports in order to make sure that the taxes are paid. They are also less irritating to the public than taxes collected from the final purchaser of the goods, such as a tax of one cent on each ten cents' worth of perfume or soda water. Of course, it is the public that actually pays the excise and customs taxes, for when the tobacco manufacturer or the importer has paid the tax, he simply adds that amount to the price which he asks. However, the purchasers of tobacco and imported goods do not think much about this, as a rule; and in any case they are not constantly annoyed by the demand for taxes a dozen times a day. Hence these taxes are much favored. The amount of money received from excise taxes will be much less in the future than in the past, as the constitutional amendment establishing national prohibition cuts off the revenue from taxation of liquors.

Income Taxes and Excess Profits Tax. — Since 1909 Congress has not depended altogether on these two forms of taxation. In that year it began to tax the incomes of corporations, and since 1913 it has taxed also the incomes of individuals. The rate of taxation on individual incomes rises rapidly as the size of the income increases. During

the World War, Congress received a large amount of money from an excess profits tax. This is a tax on all business profits above a certain percentage. It is interesting to note that during the last half of 1917 and the first half of 1918, the receipts from these last three forms of taxation nearly equaled the internal revenue receipts.

On the whole, income taxes and excess profits taxes have been generally favored. There is a growing feeling that ability to pay is the best basis of taxation. Large incomes and excess profits both show ability to pay.

Borrowing by the Government. — In time of war, the government secures much money through borrowing it from private individuals, and giving promises to pay the money back at a certain time with interest. These various promises to pay are called notes, bonds, and war savings certificates.

The National Debt. — From 1888 until 1916, the debt of the country was always just about a billion dollars, or about ten dollars per capita. In carrying on the World War, however, the government rapidly increased the national debt until by 1919 it amounted to more than twenty billions of dollars.

Method of Spending Money. — Probably the weakest spot in our national government is its expenditure of money. In every well-organized business the manager and the board of directors make plans for expending money. In the national government the President and the members of his cabinet have very little to do with financial planning, which is carried on through a number of committees in Congress, such as the committee on army and navy and the committee on rivers and harbors. These various committees do not act in harmony with one another. Each wishes to secure

as much money as possible for the branches of service under its own jurisdiction.

Those who plan for the raising of money are not the same group of persons as those who plan for the spending of money. Therefore we often have a large surplus in the treasury, which means that the government has collected more money from the people than it needs; or else we have a large deficit, which means that the government must borrow in order to pay the appropriations that have been passed.

The Budget System. — This financial problem has been solved in several other countries by providing that the legislative body shall not consider any motion or bill involving an expenditure, unless such an expenditure is recommended by the prime minister and the cabinet. Many thinking people are trying to work out some system for the United States whereby a budget — that is, a scientific plan for the raising and spending of money — shall be made the basis of all financial operations.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Explain excise taxes. Explain customs duties. Why have these two taxes formerly been the chief source of income of the national government?

2. What is a corporation tax? An income tax? An excess profits tax? Can you explain the basis on which these taxes are levied?

3. In what ways did our national government borrow money from the public during the World War? What was the effect of this war on our national debt?

4. What is a budget? What is the use of a budget?

5. Why should the same persons plan to raise money and to expend it for various kinds of work? What is the effect when those who plan to raise it have no connection with those who plan to spend it?

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

Organizing the Government. — In Chapter XXVII we saw how the federal Constitution was established. In this chapter we shall find out what the federal Constitution is, and how it influences our government.

In the first place, the Constitution organizes the national government. It says who shall be the chief executive officer, how he shall be elected, what his powers shall be, and how he may be removed. It likewise organizes the legislature and the courts.

Powers of National and State Governments. — In the second place, the Constitution says what powers the national government shall have and what powers the states shall retain. We saw in Chapter XXVIII why certain powers were given to the national government instead of being left with the states. We saw that to the national government were given those powers which would keep the states from fighting with one another, which would protect them from foreign oppression, and which would accomplish other things essential to the common welfare. These powers, we learned, are the powers over foreign and interstate commerce, power over the army and navy, power over post offices and post roads, etc.

All powers not delegated to the national government were left to the states or to the people of the United States as a whole. A list of the powers of the national government and of the state governments, as given by Professor Munro,[1] is as follows:

[1] Munro, W. B., *The Government of the United States*, page 46.

Federal Powers	State Powers
1. Taxation for federal purposes	1. Taxation for local purposes
2. Borrowing on the nation's credit	2. Borrowing on state's credit
3. Regulation of foreign and interstate commerce	3. Regulation of trade within the state
4. Currency and coinage	4. Civil and criminal law
5. Foreign relations and treaties	5. The police power
6. Army and navy	6. Education
7. Postal service	7. Control of local government
8. Patents and copyrights	8. Charities and corrections
9. Regulation of weights and measures	9. Suffrage and election
10. Admission of new states	10. Organization and control of corporations

Limitations on the Government. — In the third place, the federal Constitution places certain great limitations on both the national government and the state governments. The people feared that the governments might perhaps become oppressive, as certain European governments had been. To make sure that those in control of the governments would not oppress the people, these limitations were placed in the Constitution.

In order to learn some of the limitations placed on the national government, read the Constitution of the United States, Article 1, Section 9; also the first ten amendments. To learn some of the limitations placed upon the states, read Article 1, Section 10, of the Constitution, and Amendments XIII, XIV, and XV.

Methods of Changing the Constitution. — In the fourth place, the national Constitution provides a method by which it may be amended from time to time, as the necessity arises.

There are two main ways of changing the Constitution: (1) by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress plus a favorable vote of three fourths of the states; (2) by a constitutional amendment being presented by two thirds of the states for adoption and then ratified by three fourths of the states. So far only the first method has been used.

The Amendments. — Since the Constitution was established, it has been amended eighteen times. The first ten amendments were made very shortly after the main part was adopted; the eleventh was adopted in 1798 and the twelfth in 1804. The next three amendments were adopted as a result of the Civil War; while the sixteenth and seventeenth were both adopted in the same year, 1913. The eighteenth amendment is known as the prohibition amendment and was adopted in 1919. The nineteenth amendment, providing that the right to vote shall not be taken away because of sex, was passed by both houses of Congress in 1919.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. What is meant by the statement that the federal Constitution organizes the national government?
2. When authority was distributed between the national government and the state governments, what rule was followed? Look at the list of powers given in the text, and show how each one comes under this rule.
3. Why was it considered necessary to place limitations upon the powers of both national government and state governments? Make as long a list as you can of these limitations, and explain the meaning of each.
4. Why did the makers of our federal Constitution establish a method for amending it? What is likely to be the case with any public document that cannot be amended?
5. Read all the amendments to the Constitution, and explain each one.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE LEGISLATIVE POWER OF THE NATION

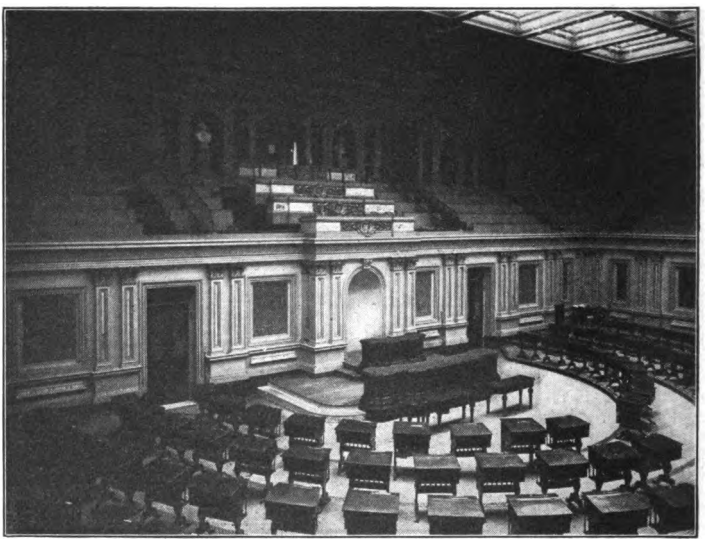
Legislative Power of Congress. — According to the Constitution of the United States, the making of national laws is intrusted to Congress. Congress is composed of two houses called the Senate and the House of Representatives. No bills can become laws unless they are passed by both of these houses. The power given to Congress to make laws is known as legislative power.

Number of Representatives. — The House of Representatives is much the larger of the two houses of Congress, having at the present time 435 members. Each of the states has at least one representative, and the number that a state has beyond this depends upon the number of people in that state.

Qualifications of Representatives. — The Constitution provides that a person shall have certain qualifications in order to be eligible to the office of representative. He must be at least twenty-five years old, must have been a citizen of the United States for seven years, and when elected must be an inhabitant of the state from which he is chosen. Each member of the House of Representatives is elected for a two-year term, and all members of the house are elected at the same time.

Number of Senators. — The Senate is much smaller than the House of Representatives, having only two members from each state, no matter what its size. Thus, New York with over ten million people has only the same number of senators that Nevada or Wyoming has. At the present time, since there are forty-eight states, there are just double that number of senators.

Election of Senators. — Previous to the adoption of the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution, the members of the Senate were elected by the different state legislatures. Since that time, however, they have been elected by the people of the state. Each senator is elected for a six-year term, and one third of the members of the Senate retire every second year. No state elects both of its senators at



The Senate Chamber in the Capitol at Washington.

the same time, unless some unexpected vacancy should occur. Senators are elected at the regular state elections, and all those who have a right to vote for state officers also have a right to vote for senators. In case a senator dies or resigns, the governor calls a special election, unless a state election is near at hand, in which case the governor may appoint a person to fill the vacancy until this election is held.

Qualifications of Senators. — Like the members of the House of Representatives, senators are required by the Constitution to have certain qualifications. A senator must be thirty-five years of age, nine years a citizen of the United States, and an inhabitant of the state from which he is chosen.

Influence of the Senate. — The Senate has always been a much more powerful body than the House of Representatives. This is due to several facts: the senators are elected from much larger districts than the representatives, are as a rule older men with more experience, have longer terms, and are members of a much smaller body, thus giving each one of them a larger chance to make himself felt. Other factors that give the Senate greater influence are the fact that many officers, heads of departments, and other public servants appointed by the President must be approved by the Senate, and the fact that it shares with the President the treaty power.

Powers of Congress. — If you will read Article 1, Section 8, of the Constitution, you will see that Congress is there given power over eighteen large functions or activities. We shall have time here to describe only some of the most important of these.

The Power to Tax. — Congress is given almost unlimited powers over taxation. We can readily see why this is so, if we will think for a few moments. Suppose that two or three nations were attacking the United States, and suppose that Congress were limited in the amount of taxes it could levy in order to obtain money to protect the nation. If it could not secure funds, the country might perish. You can see that, if the World War had continued a few years longer, it might have been necessary for Congress to levy exceed-

ingly heavy taxes in order to carry on the war successfully. As it was, through the combined power of taxation and borrowing, the government secured money that would equal more than one third of the value of the goods produced in the United States during any one year.

The Power to Borrow. — Congress also has the power to borrow money. Very often Congress thinks that all the cost of paying for a great undertaking should not be collected from the people within one year or even a few years. Therefore it borrows money which it agrees to pay back gradually, instead of collecting the entire amount at once from taxation. The Panama Canal cost over $378,000,000. If all that large sum of money had been raised by taxation in one year, in addition to the other money that had to be raised, it would have proved a heavy burden on the people. The government, therefore, borrowed this money for a long term of years. In war also the government borrows much money, instead of calling upon the people to pay all the needed funds into the treasury through taxes. We all know that during the past war the government raised five large loans, totaling several billions of dollars. The power of determining whether it is best for the country to borrow money or raise it by taxation is left to Congress.

Regulating Commerce. — One of the most important powers of Congress is the power to regulate commerce. Three kinds of commerce are mentioned in the Constitution as subject to this regulation: commerce with foreign nations, among the several states, and with the Indian tribes.

Foreign Commerce. — The regulation of foreign commerce by the nation instead of the states accomplishes many valuable results. In the first place, it prevents friction between

the inland states and the states having harbors upon the ocean, or states which border on foreign countries and those which do not. If New York were able to tax foreign commerce, she would grow very wealthy from doing so, while the inland states would regard her with envy. As it is now, the money that is received at the port of New York goes to the national government and is distributed throughout the states in the form of services to the people. By having the national government regulate this commerce, it is possible to establish much better tariff relations with other countries than if the states had charge of such regulation. Receipts from foreign commerce are also a very good way for the national government to collect part of its revenue.

Interstate Commerce. — Congress has the power to regulate commerce among the states. The word *commerce* has been given a very broad definition by the courts, so that it includes many kinds of business intercourse between the states. It includes the sending of goods from one state to another, the sending of telephone and telegraph messages, the transportation of passengers, and the shipping of oil in pipe lines.

Probably there is no other single power of Congress that has done so much to make us one nation instead of many states. The merchant, instead of being dependent upon the protection of many states in which he does business, depends upon the power of Congress to protect him. Goods which pass through various states, instead of being taxed upon entering or leaving each state, are entirely free from such restrictions. A traveler is not compelled to stop at each state line to have all of his papers and baggage examined; he can travel freely from one part of the country to another. Because the national government, instead of the states,

regulates interstate commerce, it is possible to carry on business on a large national scale.

The War Power. — The war power of Congress is also very great. Congress has the right to declare war and to do everything necessary to carry on war successfully. It can raise armies and equip them, build navies, provide for the training and education of soldiers and sailors, and in fact do practically anything that will aid in winning a war. How great is this power may be seen from the declaration of war with Germany. In this declaration it was stated that Congress pledged the entire resources of the country to the carrying on of the war. During the war, Congress controlled the food supply, operated the railroads, built ships, and established training camps for officers in nearly every college in the land. Under the war power, also, Congress may set up a military government in any country that is conquered by the United States. After we secured the island of Porto Rico in 1898, for instance, a military government was set up and was continued for some little time.

Other Powers of Congress. — We have discussed the power over naturalization sufficiently elsewhere. Among other powers of Congress that we shall not have time to discuss fully are the powers over currency, weights and measures, and patents and copyrights. Congress makes laws in regard to these and many other matters, for the benefit and welfare of the entire nation.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Review the reasons given in Chapter XXIV in regard to the custom of having a two-house legislature. With these in mind you will be able to answer the following questions:

(*a*) Why were two houses of Congress established?

(*b*) What is the meaning of the difference in qualifications as to age and residence, between members of the two houses?

(*c*) Why must every bill be passed by both houses before it becomes a law?

2. Examine a history of the United States to learn why all the states are allowed the same number of senators, while the number of representatives varies according to population.

3. Explain how it is that the Senate, though much smaller than the House of Representatives, has become more influential.

4. Make a list of the powers given to Congress in Article 1, Section 8, of the Constitution, expressing these in your own language. Explain, in each case, why the power was given to Congress rather than to the individual states.

5. Who are the senators from your state? How many representatives has your state? Who is the representative from your district?

6. Learn how both your state senators and your district representative voted in regard to the most important measures brought up at the latest session of Congress.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE JUDICIAL POWER OF THE NATION

Necessity for Federal Courts. — Why, we may ask, is it necessary for the national government to have a system of courts, when the state does so much in protecting its people from fraud, injustice, and crime? There are several reasons why federal courts are necessary. Suppose two states were disputing with each other regarding a boundary line. It is evident that neither of these states would believe that the courts of the other state would be unprejudiced in settling the dispute. They would, however, trust the national court to give them justice. Again, if a citizen of California

owed a citizen of Washington a sum of money, the citizen of Washington might believe that he would be discriminated against if he brought his suit in a California court. The California citizen might feel the same way about trusting the Washington court. Both of them would know, however, that the national court, having no interest one way or the other in the matter, would give them a fair trial.

It would not look well if foreign ambassadors, ministers, or consuls should be compelled to bring their lawsuits in state courts or to be sued by state courts. They represent their governments and should be treated with as great respect as though they really were the foreign governments. Such a respect would make it necessary, therefore, that they should sue or be sued in a court representing the whole United States.

Let us suppose, again, that the United States government were suing a citizen. It would not be very dignified for the nation to have to ask a state court to hear its suit. The state court might refuse permission to bring suit, and even if it did so, it might be prejudiced.

Suppose that a person broke a law of the United States. It surely would not do for the national government to depend, for the enforcement of that law, upon the state courts. In case the states did not wish to enforce the law, or refused to do so, people would soon feel that the laws of the United States need not be respected. Unless we had federal courts, the United States laws would be differently interpreted in different states, thus leading to much confusion and injustice.

For these reasons and some others, it is necesary for the national government as well as the states to have courts.

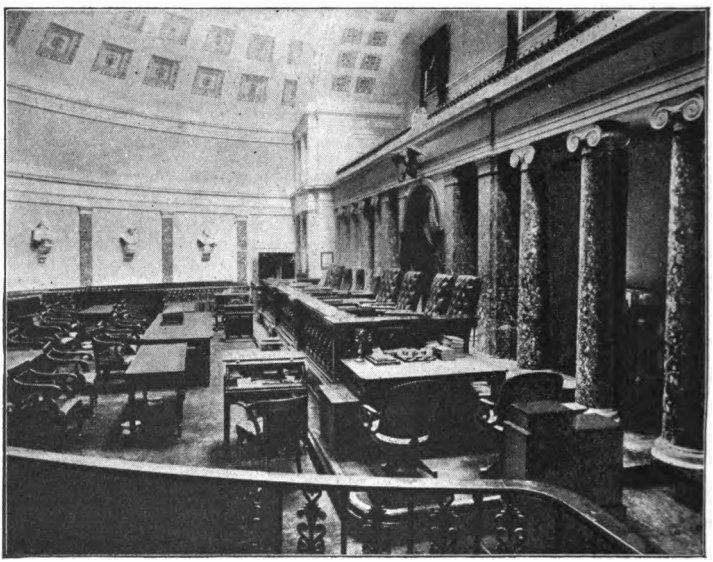
Cases Decided in the Federal Courts. — The next question that we may ask is, " What kinds of cases come before

the United States courts?" All the kinds of cases that have been mentioned in this chapter may be tried by federal courts; that is, all cases between states, all cases affecting representatives of foreign governments, and all disputes where the national government is one of the parties to the suit. The federal courts may hear cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; that is, cases in regard to ships which sail upon waters controlled by the national government, or in regard to the debts or financial dealings of such ships, the conduct of officers and sailors belonging to them, etc. They also decide cases between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

Besides these cases, any case arising under the Constitution, the laws, or treaties of the United States may be tried in the federal courts. A few illustrations will show how cases come into the federal courts in this way. The Constitution of the United States prohibits any state from denying any person within its jurisdiction — that is, under its control — the equal protection of its laws. If any state should pass a law saying that all voters who had not been born in the state must pay a tax of one dollar a year before they could vote, while all who had been born in the state were exempted from this tax, such a law could not be enforced. A man might sue the state in a federal court, claiming that in being required to pay a dollar, while his neighbor was exempted, he was deprived of equal protection of the laws. The court would decide that this was true, and that the law was not valid because it conflicted with the federal Constitution.

Let us consider a case arising under the laws of the United States. A federal statute might provide that no adulterated food should be shipped from one state into an-

other. A federal pure food inspector finds that the A. B. C. Preserve Company is shipping from Kansas City to Oklahoma City "strawberry jam" which, as a matter of fact, is largely composed of apples. The case will be brought into the federal court to find out if the law really has been



The United States Supreme Court meets in this room. Notice the seats of the judges at the right of the room.

broken. If it has, the federal courts will determine, according to law, what the punishment will be.

A case might arise under a treaty, if the United States had a treaty with Great Britain not to allow the manufacture of phosphorus matches, and a citizen of the United States were found manufacturing them.

The Supreme Court. — Just as in the state governments there are various courts for various purposes, so there are in

the national government. At the head of the judicial system of the United States stands the Supreme Court. This court is composed of a chief justice and eight associate justices. Any six of them may constitute a quorum and so render a valid decision.

This court has jurisdiction over two classes of cases, that is, the authority to hear and decide them: namely, those cases that come to it directly and those cases that come by way of appeal from the lower courts. In the first class of cases are all those affecting ambassadors of foreign powers and cases in which a state is a party. It is easy to see why these cases should come before the highest court in the land immediately, since one deals with representatives of other nations, and the other with states. If a person thinks that some lower court has not granted him a right, privilege, or immunity that he should have under the Constitution, laws, or treaties of the United States, he can, under certain conditions, appeal from the decision of the lower court and have his case heard in the Supreme Court.

Circuit Courts of Appeal. — Below the Supreme Court are nine circuit courts of appeals, each having jurisdiction in one of the nine circuits into which the United States is divided. Each court consists of from two to four justices, according to the amount of work to be done in the circuits. These courts hold sessions in various cities, at which they hear appeals from the lower federal courts. In many cases their decisions are final, and no appeal to the Supreme Court is allowed.

District Courts. — The entire territory of the United States, including Alaska, Porto Rico, and Hawaii, is divided into eighty-three judicial districts. Each state constitutes at least one district, and some of the larger and more popu-

lous states have several districts. For example, New York has four and Oklahoma has two. Usually one judge is appointed for each district. These district courts hear cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States, and appeals from state courts where a federal question is involved.

Special Courts. — Besides these courts, the United States has a few courts for the hearing of special cases, which include the court of claims and the court of customs appeals.

The Judicial Department. — This system of federal courts, with the necessary judges and other officials, is known as the judicial system of the United States; and the power to judge cases given to the courts under the Constitution is known as judicial power. Like the government of the states, the federal government is divided into three departments, legislative, judicial, and executive. In Chapter XXXV we learned of the work of the legislative department and we shall examine the executive department in the next chapter.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Explain the necessity for federal courts.
2. What kinds of cases come before the federal courts? Show that state courts are not in a position to deal properly with such cases.
3. Why would it not be advisable to leave to the states the power of enforcing the national Constitution, laws, or treaties?
4. What is the Supreme Court of the United States? What kinds of cases does it hear?
5. Explain the work of the circuit courts of appeals. Why are not all cases tried before it allowed an appeal to the Supreme Court?
6. What is the work of the district courts? Why are so many of these courts needed?
7. What is the judicial power of the United States?

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE EXECUTIVE POWER OF THE NATION

The President. — The authority to see that laws are obeyed and plans carried out is called executive power. The executive power of the United States is placed in the hands of the President, who is assisted by a group of men called a cabinet.

The President of the United States is elected for a term of four years. No President has ever served for more than two terms, though there is no legal reason to prevent longer service. The first President, George Washington, retired to private life at the end of his second term, and the custom which he established has never been broken.

Duties of the President. — The President is given several very important duties and powers. He is commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States. He may make treaties with foreign nations — though the Senate is expected to advise him in this work, and the treaties are not valid unless indorsed by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. He may nominate ambassadors, consuls, and ministers to foreign countries, judges of the Supreme Court, and other officers, and if the Senate agrees with his nominations, he may appoint these persons to office.

It is the duty of the President to inform Congress concerning public affairs, and to ask it to consider plans and measures which he believes would be of benefit to the country. In case there is need for legislative action at a time when Congress is not in session, the President may call a special session. Before acts of Congress become laws, they are sent to the President for his signature; if he returns any bill to

Congress with objections, it cannot become a law unless two thirds of the members of both houses vote for it.

The Cabinet and the Departments. — The Constitution of the United States does not make definite arrangements for a cabinet; but those who wrote it certainly understood that the President would need assistants to manage the various departments of executive work, for in Article II, Section 2, we find the words, "He may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices."

Congress has passed acts at various times, arranging for various departments, each of which has a chief official. The heads of all the departments are chosen by the President, and it is their duty not only to carry out the laws and plans made by Congress, but to give the President advice and help.

The cabinet at present consists of ten members: Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney General, Postmaster General, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Commerce, and Secretary of Labor. Each one of these manages a department which performs great public services. We shall look briefly at some of these services. Of course, it will be impossible to remember them all, and it is not necessary to do so.

The Department of State has charge of the foreign relations of the United States. It contains divisions, or bureaus, devoted to Latin-American affairs, Mexican affairs, Far Eastern affairs, Near Eastern affairs, etc. It contains a Diplomatic Bureau and a Consular Bureau, which aid the President in selecting men to represent the United States

abroad, and perform various other functions in connection with the diplomatic service. The Department of State also keeps the official records of the United States, and publishes the laws.

The Treasury Department cares for the money belonging to the United States. It also has charge of collecting revenues and of coining money. The work of caring for public health, the United States life saving service, and the secret service work are managed by this department.

The War Department is in charge of military affairs. There are many subdivisions within the department, each devoted to some special branch of work, as quartermaster's service, military engineering, ordnance, engineering in rivers and harbors, etc.

The Department of Justice has charge of the work of prosecuting certain offenders against the laws of the United States, and also of giving the President legal advice in regard to various questions of public law. This department handles applications for pardons, supervises and controls federal prisons, and does much other work of like nature.

The Post Office Department. — As we have already studied the work of the Post Office Department in Chapter XXXI, we shall not need to discuss it here.

The Navy Department has charge of the construction and maintenance of government vessels, shipyards, and docks, and the naval service in general. Because of our great expanse of seacoast and our island possessions, it has been generally felt during the last few decades that the United States needs a large navy; and the navy has consequently been expanded very rapidly. Its equipment in ships and apparatus of every kind is among the finest in the world.

The Department of the Interior has charge of a good deal of very important work. It manages the distribution of public lands, the reclamation service, the national park service, Indian affairs, pensions, patents, education, and various other lines of activity.

The Department of Agriculture. — The valuable work of gathering and distributing information upon many subjects of importance to the farmer is done by the Department of Agriculture. It manages the weather bureau and a bureau of markets, whose object is to help producers to find markets for their crops. The forest service and the work of developing public roads are also undertaken by this department.

The Department of Commerce, as its name implies, is established to encourage and help the trade of the country. It includes a bureau of foreign and domestic commerce, a lighthouse bureau, a bureau of navigation, a bureau of fisheries, etc. This department also has charge of taking the census every ten years.

The Department of Labor is intrusted with the work of studying labor conditions, of publishing useful information in regard to them, and of working to improve them. This department has charge of the naturalization service and of the United States employment service. It also includes a Children's Bureau, which has published valuable material upon the proper care and treatment of children, and similar topics.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Name the chief executive officer of the United States.
2. Can you explain why both the President and the Senate must take part in arranging treaties with foreign countries?

3. Why should power be given to the President to call special sessions of Congress?

4. When was the latest special session of Congress called? What measures did it consider?

5. What is a cabinet? What are the duties of cabinet members? Why are so many executive officers needed?

6. Make a written list of the cabinet officers and the departments which they represent. Find the names of the cabinet members at the present time, and add these to the list. Under each department write some of its chief functions. The neatest and best list may be fastened upon the wall for reference.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

NEW PROBLEMS OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

New Government Problems. — As time passes, the federal government finds new problems constantly arising. Today it faces many important undertakings which were hardly dreamed of in the time of Washington and Jefferson. Let us look at a few of these.

Road Building. — In recent years there has been a growing interest in the question of good roads. People wish to travel in automobiles through all parts of the country, and to send loaded automobile trucks long distances. This is impossible unless there are good roads in every state. Realizing the value of good roads for travel and commerce in times of peace, and for the moving of men and military supplies in time of war, the federal government has undertaken to aid the states in building highways.

It does this in three ways. Sums of money are given to states which will appropriate a given amount of their own funds for road building, so that the roads are paid for by state and nation acting together. The federal gov-

ernment also prepares specifications as to the nature of the roads, in order that they may be of good quality, able to bear heavy traffic, and built to last for years. To prevent carelessness or dishonesty in building the roads, federal inspectors are supplied, whose work it is to see that the highways meet the specifications.

Many states have already accepted the help of the federal government. Therefore, we may hope within a few years to find a magnificent system of highways running throughout the country.

Public Education. — For many years the federal government has assisted in the work of public education, by maintaining a Bureau of Education at Washington, with a commissioner of education at its head. The chief work of this bureau has been to gather and publish valuable information concerning educational affairs. This information has been distributed to educational authorities and others interested in studying such questions, and it has been very useful in helping and guiding those who plan the work of the public schools.

It has been proposed to give federal money and help to the states in improving and developing their educational systems, and in providing special schools for the reëducation of disabled soldiers and others who need particular kinds of training to enable them to support themselves.

The Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 provides for the appropriation of certain sums of money from the national treasury for the purpose of aiding the states and coöperating with them under certain conditions " in paying the salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agricultural subjects, and teachers of trade, home economics, and industrial subjects, and in the preparation of teachers of agricultural,

trade, industrial, and home economics subjects." This coöperation between nation and state assures the steady development of industrial and vocational education.

Americanization. — During the great war, the federal government found itself confronted with new educational problems. It was discovered that large numbers of Ameri-

In this Americanization class, the students are being taught the English language, and American manners and customs. This will help to train them for intelligent citizenship.

can men are unable to read and write, and that many immigrants who have lived in this country for years cannot even speak English, and do not understand our principles of government.

As we know, a democratic government demands educated citizens. The federal authorities took immediate steps to educate the illiterate English-speaking men in the training

camps, and to teach the English language to those who did not understand it. Of course the men who were in the camps are only a small number of the men and women who need such training, and an effort is being made to reach the others. Federal and state authorities are working hand in hand to stamp out illiteracy, to teach our language and our standards to immigrants, and to induce them to become naturalized as soon as possible. This latter work is known as Americanization; and it may be expected to produce extremely good results in making us a truly united people, coöperating for the same great purposes.

Employment Service. — Another problem which has grown up during the last few years, and particularly since the great war, is that of federal employment service. Much has already been done, and more will be done in the future, to keep all parts of the country informed about conditions of work and supplies of labor everywhere, and to assist men who need work to reach places where they can secure it.

In these and many other ways, our national government is working for the benefit of all the people. Its services have always been very great, but they are constantly becoming greater, as modern conditions bring new needs.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Why has the national government undertaken the work of helping the states to construct good roads?
2. Explain the methods by which the government helps in providing good roads.
3. Of what advantage would it be to all citizens if good highways ran through all parts of the country?
4. Why do city, state, and nation, all join in promoting public education?
5. What is the work of the United States Bureau of Education?

6. Learn all that you can about the federal government's plans for the reëducation of disabled soldiers.

7. Give the chief provisions of the Smith-Hughes Act.

8. Explain the meaning of Americanization, and learn all you can about this work.

9. Is the work of the federal employment bureaus of benefit to any one beside laborers? If so, to whom? Explain your reasons for this statement.

10. How is it that the work of our national government has grown so much since the Constitution was adopted? Is this growth likely to continue, or not? Explain your answer.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE PEOPLE AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Our Varied Citizenship. — Owing to the fact that our great country has been very liberal in permitting immigration from many other lands, our nation to-day is composed of men and women of every race. Some have lived in the United States only a short time; some are descended from many generations of American citizens. Many still cling to certain ideas, habits, and customs of their original homes in other parts of the world.

Fundamental Principles of Democracy. — Since all these various types of people compose one nation, and since they all must coöperate in carrying on a democratic government, it is very important that all shall understand the principles of our government. We have already seen that much is being done to teach American ideals and standards to all who dwell among us. Of course, it would be ridiculous to try to make all persons think alike on every subject, and it would be opposed to the meaning of *liberty;* but there are a

few fundamental principles on which we must agree if we are to have a democratic government.

For example, we must agree that governments should be conducted for the benefit of all the people, and not for the power and glory of a few. We must agree that the will of the people shall be carried out; and that if there are differences of opinion, the will of the majority shall prevail. We must agree that rioting, murder, and all other uses of violence by discontented minorities must be sternly suppressed, for there is no excuse for violent methods in a country where political liberty is so great as in the United States. We must agree that, as improvements in our laws or our methods of government are needed from time to time, the people shall demand these improvements in peaceable and orderly ways. We must agree that, since the officials who govern us are chosen by the people or the representatives of the people, it is the people who are really responsible for good government. Whatever our individual differences may be, if we all cherish these principles we shall be able to make even greater national progress in the future than we have done in the past.

The Best Type of Citizens. — Since the responsibility for good government rests upon the people, who choose their own leaders, it is not an exaggeration to say that the best type of government is impossible without the best type of citizens. In order to make democratic government thoroughly efficient and good, in every sense of the word, what qualities must be found in the people?

First of all, as we have already seen, the people must be educated, so that they will understand what they are doing, will know what measures are for their welfare, will be able to choose good officials, and will not be misled by dishonest

politicians. Next, they must be unselfish, ready to work for the benefit of their fellow citizens, even though this may take time from their personal pursuits. They must be public-spirited, so that their first thought about any proposed measure will be, "Is this for the general welfare?" rather than, "How does this affect me?"

Loyal Citizens. — One more quality is absolutely essential to the success of popular government — loyalty. Early in our study of government we saw that, in order to carry on any undertaking, it is necessary that those who are displeased with any measure shall submit to it until they are able to have it changed in a regular and orderly manner. Respect for law and cheerful submission are the first essentials of loyalty. Moreover, no organization will be successful unless its members take interest and pride in it. This is just as true of public organizations as of private ones. The loyal citizen is interested in the welfare of his city, his state, his nation; he is proud of all that they have done and are doing for the general good; he is determined to do everything in his power to make them better and greater as time goes on.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Why is it necessary that those who wish to live together under a democratic government should agree on certain principles? What would be the result if only a few persons agreed on any principle of government, and the whole nation were divided into small groups, each of which disagreed with all the other groups? Is it necessary that all people should agree on every point? Explain.

2. Name all the principles you can on which you believe that American citizens should agree. Give your reasons for each statement.

3. Where should the blame be placed if a democratic government is not so efficient as it ought to be? Explain.

4. What are the necessary qualities of a good citizen?

5. Write an essay on one of these topics: Principles of American Democracy; The Ideal American Citizen; Who is Responsible for Our Government?

CHAPTER XL

POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

Reasons for Political Parties. — It is practically impossible to get a large body of men to agree absolutely regarding any work that ought to be done or the methods that should be used. This accounts for the existence of parties, since parties consist of people joined together for carrying out certain policies which they believe to be right. People who believe in a particular policy regarding what the government ought to do, organize an association, or party, in order to accomplish their ends. Thus, the people who consider a high tariff necessary for the business welfare of the country may organize a party and try to elect enough people to Congress to pass laws which will provide for a high tariff; and there may be another organization of those who believe that it will be to their interest and the interest of the country to have a low tariff or no tariff at all. People may believe that the most essential thing for the welfare of the country is to have all public utilities and other large businesses controlled by the national government. These people may likewise organize a party to carry out their views. We can thus see that because people believe differently regarding governmental policy, they will attempt to secure enough votes to elect, to the legislative and other

branches of the government, people who will carry their policies into effect.

History of Political Parties. — Although the forefathers who established our government did not believe in parties and tried in every way to discourage them, yet because of differences in opinion they were inevitable. Even in the Constitutional Convention there were two distinct parties: those who believed that the states should be subordinate to the Union and who wished a strong central government, and those who believed that the national government should be given as little power as possible and that the states should be superior to the national government. It will be impossible in this brief work to tell the history of the political parties, but in the library you can probably find books that will give good accounts of party development.

The principal parties in the United States at the present time are the Republican, the Democratic, and the Socialist.

The Republican Party. — The Republican party grew up in the middle of the past century, and in 1860 elected Lincoln to the presidency. During the Civil War this party drew to itself all who believed in the maintaining of the Union, the upholding of the Constitution, a high tariff, and homesteading in the West. The successful outcome of the war left the Republican party very strong. During the war it had found it necessary to levy high tariffs in order to pay war expenses. This policy was continued after the war and so drew to this party the support of the large business and manufacturing interests of the country. Although this tariff policy has come to be less of an issue than formerly, yet even to-day it constitutes the chief line of difference between the Republican and Democratic parties, at least as far as policy is concerned.

The Democratic Party. — The Democratic party after the Civil War was composed largely of those who believed in a low tariff; and generally speaking, its members represented the agricultural interests not only of the South but also to quite a large extent of the West and the Middle West. If we should take a map of the United States and mark all the states red that in 1916 went Democratic and mark all the states blue that went Republican, we could see more clearly perhaps than in any other way what was the issue between the two greatest parties in the United States. The states that are marked red, it will be seen, are the Southern and the Western states, most of which are largely agricultural states. The states marked blue are the great manufacturing and commercial states. The agricultural states do not wish a high tariff, because they have goods which they wish to sell abroad, such as cotton and tobacco; and in exchange they desire to obtain manufactured goods from Europe as cheaply as possible. A high tariff will make them pay much more for these goods than otherwise. The manufacturing states, on the other hand, are interested in having a high tariff to protect their manufactured goods from competition with foreign-made goods.

The Socialist Party. — The Socialist party, which virtually took its present form in 1900 as a result of the union of the Socialist-Labor and the Social-Democratic parties, demands certain great economic and political changes. It believes, according to its platform, in the public ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones, and in the national ownership of forests, mines, oil, and other natural resources. It also believes that the control of all industry should be in the hands of the people instead of in the hands of capitalists; and that the state should insure workers against unemploy-

ment, and should provide old age, sickness, and accident pensions. It wishes to have the United States Senate abolished, wishes the popular election of all judges for short terms of office, and wishes to take away from the Supreme Court the right to declare laws unconstitutional.

The Prohibition Party. — The Prohibition party, which held its first national convention in 1872, has worked primarily for the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. Although this party was never able to secure a single vote in the electoral college, it has accomplished its main aim — the national prohibition of liquor — by the eighteenth amendment, which was adopted in 1919.

Aim of the Party. — In case a party can elect a sufficient number of persons to Congress to secure a majority of votes, and can also elect the President of the United States, it will be able to secure legislation that will carry out its policies, and will also be able to enforce this legislation. The political party, therefore, devotes its principal work to seeing that its adherents are elected to office.

Party Organization. — In order to be sure that a party will be able to elect members of Congress, it is necessary that the party shall organize everywhere in the United States. We thus have national political organizations of some sort throughout the country, even in small places. The members of each party hold public meetings to explain their policies, distribute literature, advertise in newspapers and periodicals, and use every available means of persuading others to join them.

Presidential Conventions. — Each party sends representatives from every state to a national convention, at which the party's " platform " or statement of principles is written, and its candidates for the offices of President and Vice

President are selected. The makers of the Constitution did not wish to have these officers elected by parties, so they provided that each state should appoint persons known as electors, who should choose the President and the Vice President. (See the Constitution, Article II, Sections 2 and 3; also the twelfth amendment.) They thought that these electors would vote for able men without regard to party. This plan, however, did not work out. Each party nominates as electors men who can absolutely be depended upon to vote for those whom the party has nominated for President and Vice President. Therefore, although the people do not vote directly for these officials, they know that the electors will cast their votes for the party candidates; so in choosing electors, the people are really choosing the President and Vice President. The hopes of our forefathers that the electoral college, as the body of electors is called, would be free from party influence have not been realized.

National Parties in Local Elections. — Since national parties are thoroughly organized, with branches everywhere, their members work to elect not only the national officers, but also the state and local officers. While it may seem absurd to select a man for mayor because he believes in or does not believe in a high tariff, yet it is inevitable that party politics will continue to play considerable part in state and local government. The electing of men to state and local office because of national politics may be harmful, as candidates are often helped by the party to win such offices simply as a reward for faithful work in the national campaign, and not because they are the best persons for the positions.

Special Issues in Local Elections. — On the other hand, the difficulty of organizing and continuing parties which

really represent state or local issues is so very great that it is not ordinarily attempted. "Reform," "fusion," or "independent" parties seldom outlive one or two campaigns. This is due partly to the fact that issues in the state or local governments are not so long continuing or so well defined as national issues. They vary from time to time. For instance, in one election the municipal issue might be whether or not the city should own or operate its own electric light plant. Another year the issue might be bonds for waterworks, while in a third year the issue might be the strict enforcement of certain laws. Evidently no one of these issues would form the basis of a permanent party, but it might be so important at the time as to cause the best citizens to vote as they thought right, regardless of party.

There is a growing tendency to pay little attention to party lines in city affairs, and to vote for the best candidate regardless of his ideas on national politics. This will, doubtless, lead to better and more efficient municipal government.

Principles Advocated by the Party. — Political parties, in the national government, and also to a certain degree in the state governments, have several important functions to perform. To a large extent they select issues or principles and present them to the electorate. This may be true of a rather weak party as well as one that is very strong. The Prohibition party, for instance, clearly presented one issue to the voters of the United States for years until it was finally adopted. The Populist party, although of short life, presented many issues to the voters of the United States. The same may be said of the Progressive party. Every party, of course, endeavors by means of united action to secure the adoption of its principles.

Party Responsibility for Officers. — To quite a large extent, also, the parties stand in the position of bondsman to the candidates they select. If John Smith is nominated for office by the Democratic party, that party practically guarantees that he is the proper man for the place. In case he is elected and fails to do efficient work, the party suffers at the polls at the next election, provided he holds an office of sufficient importance to arouse the interest of the people.

Educating the Voter. — Through extensive campaigns waged all over the United States by speakers, the press, magazines, and cartoons, the political parties do a good deal of work in the field of public education. If issues were more clearly defined, and if people voted more generally on issues instead of by habit or tradition, evidently much more education could be given the people in this way.

The Party, a Useful Tool. — At all events, the party is a definite part of our political system. Whether we make it a useful organ in the accomplishment of our ends depends largely upon ourselves. If we will join the party really representing most fully our political beliefs, and then work with it toward the advancement of ends which we consider good and proper, we shall make of the party a most useful tool in our growing democracy.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. How do you account for the establishment of parties?
2. What principles do each of the main parties stand for?
3. Why is it necessary for national parties to organize all over the United States?
4. What is the work of a national political convention?
5. Are parties necessary? Give reasons for your answer.

6. What should be our attitude toward the party?
7. Why do experts in municipal government encourage independent voting in city elections, regardless of party lines?

CHAPTER XLI

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Entangling Alliances. — In his farewell address as President of the United States, George Washington warned the people of this country to beware of entangling alliances with European nations. As we were far removed from these nations by a large ocean, so that we had little interest in their affairs, and as we had all the work we could well do in opening and developing our great western country, this was sound advice at the time when it was given.

Closer Connections with Foreign Nations. — Since that day, however, enormous changes have taken place. We have grown from a weak nation, composed of thirteen states all more or less jealous of one another and with a population of only about four millions, to a great unified nation of over a hundred and five millions, made up of people from all European nations and distributed across a large continent. Steam and electricity have shortened the distance between us and Europe from months to days, as far as travel is concerned; while as for communication, we know all over the United States at our breakfast tables each morning, what happened in Europe the day before. The late war has demonstrated the possibility of moving millions of soldiers to and fro between here and Europe in a few months' time. No longer is our interest confined to the settling of the West, for that has largely been settled.

Commercial Relations. — To-day, as never before, we depend on all the rest of the world for things we need — on Ireland for linen, on France for millinery and art works, on England for certain manufactured goods, on China for teas and rice, on South America for coffee, rubber, meat, and hides, on the islands of the sea for certain fruits, and on Japan for silks. Not only are we dependent on all lands for articles we need, but we also have goods to exchange for these articles. No longer will the home markets satisfy our business men; they wish the markets of the world.

Diplomatic Relations. — Now whether we like it or not, these commercial relationships with the rest of the world make it necessary for us to enter into other relationships as well. If our merchants are seeking trade in Japan, South America, or any other part of the world, they wish to be assured that their lives and property will be safe there. This means that a treaty must be established between the United States and the foreign country, arranging for trade rights, legal protection, and other things necessary to the welfare and safety of people doing business in foreign lands. Ambassadors or ministers must be exchanged in order that each nation may have an official representative in the other country concerned. Consuls must be sent from each country to the principal cities of the other, to look after the rights and interests of their fellow countrymen who may be there. Thus commercial relations lead to diplomatic relations.

The Family of Nations. — Even if our nation wished to keep entirely to itself, it would not be able to do so. The great war has demonstrated that it is quite impossible for us not to be affected very seriously by warfare in Europe, no matter how much we may desire to remain neutral. For these and other reasons, it is necessary for us to give

up our policy of "no entangling alliances" and "splendid isolation." We must definitely face the fact that we are a part of the family of nations and have our share of responsibility for making the world free from war or the fear of war, and also for helping to improve the social and economic conditions of other peoples. Just as no man in the community can say, "It is none of my business if others fight, are dirty, are poor, or have diseases," so it is no longer possible for any nation to say the same thing. Commerce and communication have made the people of the world dependent on one another. The problem confronting our nation, therefore, is how we can best help to make a world where there is no war, no poverty, no misery, no disease, and no conditions which help to tear us all down.

America's Share. — In several ways this country has helped to point out methods of solving these world problems.

We have fought for the principles that no nation shall be held down or oppressed by other nations, and that every country is to be governed, not for the benefit of a limited aristocratic class, but for the benefit of the whole people.

We have given generously of time, money, garments, and food in order to relieve the sufferings of the victims of the war. We have helped, too, in reconstructing the ravaged districts and in assisting the survivors of the terrible tragedy to start life afresh.

The world is looking to America to-day as never before, not only to set an example of democracy at its best, but to help lead the world toward the goal of universal peace and social justice.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. What did President Washington mean by "entangling alliances"? Give reasons why his advice to avoid participation in European affairs was sound at the time.

2. Explain fully how circumstances have changed so that it is now impossible for us to keep entirely to ourselves.

3. Why did we enter the World War? Read everything you can find which will help you to answer this question.

4. If we had not entered the war voluntarily, is it certain that we would have been able to escape it? Explain your answer.

5. What do you conclude as to the possibility of avoiding all share in the concerns of other nations?

6. What is a League of Nations? What are the arguments in its favor? In order to make it a success, what must be the attitude of all the great nations, and of the individual citizens?

CHAPTER XLII

THE FUTURE OF AMERICA

Forces that Control our Future. — If one tries to look ahead and to imagine the future of our country, one must first take into consideration certain great forces which have controlled our national life to a very large extent ever since we became a nation, and which will control us even more in the future. These forces may be said to be the enormous development in the use of machinery, the growth of rapid communication, the improvement and the spread of education, the development of the democratic spirit, and the rapid growth of the spirit of coöperation. All these factors have played and are playing a significant rôle in the development of all the countries in the world, but in no place, perhaps, more than in the United States.

Development of Machinery. — In a very real way, the thousands of machines that we have developed give us the equivalent of millions and millions of untiring hands working for us day and night. While other countries also use a great deal of machinery, perhaps no other land can use it so profitably as the United States. Because we have not had relatively such a large population as many European countries, and our scale of wages has been very high, we have developed more machines than other countries to do the work of men. Moreover, our large tracts of agricultural land make farming by machinery profitable; whereas in some of the smaller countries of Europe with their tiny plots of land, such things as steam or traction plows, thrashing machines, binders, and harvesting machinery could not be used to advantage.

By the proper use of machinery, in our large land of wonderful resources it is possible for us to produce enough so that every single person can live in health, comfort, and happiness. With these millions of iron hands toiling continually for us, we can produce enough goods of all sorts to abolish poverty and do away with the bad conditions that cause disease. Thus to a large extent we could prevent crime and misery, for most crime and misery are caused by poverty and disease.

Development of Rapid Communication. — The second great factor that we shall consider is a result of the first. Because of the development of steamships, railroads, automobiles, airships, telephones, telegraphs, and wireless, the world is for all practical purposes very much smaller than when this country was first established. It takes scarcely longer to go from end to end of the United States now than it took our fathers to travel from New York to Philadelphia

or from Philadelphia to Washington. We can telephone to any place in the United States within a few moments. Not long ago at a banquet in New York City, each guest found a telephone receiver at his plate. Soon they were listening to music that was being performed at another banquet held at the same time in San Francisco. A few moments later they heard the waves of the Pacific Ocean beating on the rocks. Such possibilities of communication were undreamed of a half-century ago.

Learning to Know One Another. — But why, you may ask, is this great development in communication a large factor in the future of our country? In the first place, we are now linked up with all the rest of the world in a way that we have never been before. Every morning we read what is happening not only in our own land, but in every land under the sun. In hundreds of magazines we see pictures and descriptions of other peoples. In our moving pictures we see events from all parts of the world that happened only a short time before. When we become acquainted with people, be it only through description or picture, we soon lose our fear and distrust of them and come to understand them and respect them. Because of the rapid and convenient means of travel, people from all over the world are knowing one another better than has ever been possible before in the history of the world. This will gradually tend to draw all the people of the world closer together in coöperation.

Drawing the World Together. — The mighty bands of commerce also are drawing us close together. We need the products of other lands in order to live our lives to the best advantage, and these foreign lands need our products. Because we have been among the first to develop these won-

derful new inventions of communication, we shall be among the first to be interested in the other peoples of the world and to know and understand them. Because of our enormous wealth resulting from our natural resources, people have come here from all lands; they form a close bond of union between our country and other countries. Our wealth enables us to buy largely in the markets of other lands. Our extensive manufactures make us go all over the world seeking markets. Through these ways, therefore, we shall be among the first to know the people of all the world.

For all these reasons, we are in a position to become one of the great leaders in the life of the world. America should stand, and must stand, a leader in the future development of a world fit for every one to live in.

Drawing the Nation Together. — Rapid communication is also a most important factor in helping us as a nation to work together. Does any one suppose that without all the telephones, telegraphs, railroads, automobiles, and airships which we employed within a few weeks after we entered the great war, we could have united so quickly, almost as one family? Now these same means of communication are helping us to unite in carrying on, with the same coöperation, the works of peace.

Development of Education. — Education was named in the beginning of this chapter as one of the great factors that will influence the life of America in the future. How will it do this? As we become better educated, we shall invent more machinery to do things for us; and as we have seen before, the proper use of machinery tends to make a better and higher civilization. Not only will the use of machinery help us to make more products, but it will enable us to have

more free time to study, travel, and play. Education will also help us to make better plans for our industrial life. If every one were well educated, we could undoubtedly produce much more than we can at present.

But education will help us in other ways, too. It will help us to understand much better the world in which we live. When we really understand the causes of disease, poverty, and our other ailments, we shall know much better how to fight them. When we understand our relationships with one another better, we shall be able to work together in a way that we never have done before. The more educated we are, the easier it is for us to coöperate.

The Democratic Spirit. — The fourth factor of profound significance, not only in this country but also in all the world, is the development of the democratic spirit. This is the rapidly developing feeling that each person should be free: free to develop all his powers and capabilities through working in harmony with others. If we will stop to think about it, this is the only way in which we can be free. Am I more free when I take a gun and have to protect myself all alone, or when I coöperate with all others in protecting society by helping to establish courts, police, and other means of protection? Am I more free when I have to depend on my own care in seeing that my milk, meat, and canned goods are pure, or when I contribute a small tax to the national government, the state government, and the city, and they look after all these things for me? Formerly men thought only of living under a government in which they were free from arbitrary oppression by kings and rulers. Now we wish to be free also from all those things that endanger our lives, our health, or our welfare. But freedom from these things can come only through coöperation.

Coöperation: Learning to Work Together. — The fifth and perhaps the greatest factor that will influence our future will be the factor of coöperation. In order to use our wonderful machinery in the best way, we must learn how to coöperate. Of what good is a vast machine that can turn out thousands of pairs of shoes a day, if because of conflicts between the laborers and those who own it, the machine is idle? Even to use our machinery to the best advantage, we must learn how to work together. Because of our education and means of communication we can the more easily understand one another, make plans on a larger scale, and so develop coöperation.

Coöperation in Government. — The greatest of all the agencies of coöperation at the present time are the different units of government — the city, county, state, and nation. It is largely through them and by them that we shall be able to solve the problems which must be met in order that we may live peaceful, healthful, prosperous, and happy lives.

What, then, do we owe to these governments? In the first place, we should do everything in our power to make them the right kind of machines for carrying on our work. Just as a machine that is wrongly planned, not carefully watched and guarded, will fail to do good work, so governments that are not planned properly and are not carefully controlled by the citizens will fail to do efficient work.

We must give our loyal support to our country, not only in times of war but also in times of peace. This means that we should give time to working on the problems which must be solved in government; that we should be willing to take our part in actually carrying on government if we are able to do so; that we should study the problems of government so as to learn how to vote properly on public questions.

Our Future. — Evidently, then, in the future we shall use machinery much more than in the past, thus giving us all not only more to eat and to wear, but also more time for other things as well. We shall, through development in the means of communication, learn more and more how to appreciate and understand one another, and so we shall be willing to coöperate. Through development in education, we shall become able to produce more, to understand and solve our problems better, and to coöperate in carrying on great enterprises for human welfare — great enterprises of government.

Need of Changes in Government. — Because these factors are changing our lives rapidly and changing the ways that we view things, it may perhaps be necessary for us, from time to time, to make changes in the governments of city, state, and nation, in order that they may more efficiently do the work required of them. While we should not make changes unless we see clearly that they will be good for us, yet we should not be afraid of necessary improvements, any more than an automobile manufacturer is afraid to make a change if he is sure that it will improve his car. We should do as our ancestors did who helped make this country what it is to-day; that is, we should make the changes that are necessary for bettering conditions at the present time. Let us always remember the sound advice of Lord Macaulay: "It is time that we pay a decent reverence to our ancestors, not by doing what they under other circumstances did, but by doing what they under our circumstances would have done."

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. If a steam plow can plow ten acres a day while a man and a team can plow only two, and it costs no more to run the plow than

to feed a team of mules, who will be better off, the man with the steam plow or the man who uses the mules? What does this show as to the value of machinery?

2. Why can we use machinery to much better advantage than most other countries?

3. Point out three ways in which the rapid development of communication has made the people of the world more interested in one another's business than formerly.

4. Try discussing any subject in which you are much interested with a person who has a good education and one who has little education. Which of these persons is the more free from prejudice, and which has the greater sympathy with your problem?

5. What effect has education upon men's attitude toward people of other lands?

6. Does the word *democracy* mean only the right to vote? What does it mean to you?

CHAPTER XLIII

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP — A PRIVILEGE AND A RESPONSIBILITY

Who are the Citizens? — The Constitution of the United States declares that "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state in which they reside." The expression "subject to the jurisdiction thereof" means coming under the authority of the United States. If the ambassador from France and his wife should have a son born while they were living in Washington, this child would not be a citizen of the United States, even though born here, because he would be considered to come under the authority of France. Most persons born in this country, however, are subject to its jurisdiction; and of course when persons are naturalized, they

place themselves under its authority. All these persons, of every race and age, and of both sexes, are citizens of the United States.

Citizens as Partners of the Nation. — What does it mean to be a citizen? First of all, it means that every one is a partner in helping the nation to carry out its great prin-

These men are taking the oath of allegiance to the United States; that is, they are solemnly promising to renounce the authority of all other governments and to accept that of our government.

ciples of freedom, justice, and service. Even those who are too young to help decide public questions can aid in the work which must be done. Children as well as grown people did a great deal to win the World War; and there are many kinds of public work in which they can render valuable services.

Privileges of Citizens. — To be a citizen of the United States means also the possession of certain rights and priv-

ileges. It means that each one has a right to share in the services given by the government. For example, any citizen may receive free of charge, upon his request, useful literature on the raising of fruits and vegetables, methods of canning food products, the care of children, and many other topics. Every citizen of the United States is protected in many ways by the laws of the country. Every citizen shares in the benefits brought about by federal pure food laws, measures restricting immigration, and other useful laws. Every citizen has the right to his own religious views, to free speech, and to many things for which people are still struggling in some countries. These are only a few of the rights and privileges enjoyed by citizens of the United States.

Responsibilities of Citizens. — Every citizen has responsibilities as well as privileges. If the public work is to be done well, each one must feel responsible for learning what measures are right and desirable, and for working to see that these measures are carried out. If good citizens refuse to take this responsibility, there are always plenty of dishonest and undesirable persons who will quietly take charge of public affairs, and manage them for personal profit rather than for the good of all.

Each citizen is responsible for keeping before himself and before others the ideal of progress. No human institution is perfect; and as conditions change, laws and public measures must be changed also. While we look to the great men of the past for help and inspiration, we must not be misled into making them our only guides. The needs of the present and our hopes for the future must always be kept in mind, so that our country may continue to be among the most progressive nations of the world.

Studying Public Questions. — In order to exercise our responsibilities properly, we must all be willing to devote a part of our time to public affairs. Public questions demand careful study, and every good citizen ought to examine such questions from all sides. Even those too young to vote should do this, in order to gain a knowledge of these matters which will be useful later. Every one who is privileged to vote should regard it as his duty to exercise this privilege; for he must remember that unless the people take part in public affairs, there can be no real democracy. As soon as good citizens neglect public matters, they fall under the control of dishonest men, who are always seeking an opportunity to place themselves in power.

Helping the Government. — Even more time than that devoted to study of public questions and to voting should be given to the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. Whenever the government needs help, whether in selling a bond issue, in conducting a baby-saving campaign, in fighting tuberculosis, or in carrying on any other great enterprise, every citizen should be willing to give all the help that he possibly can.

How can We Make America a Leader? — We must always remember that a democratic nation is not a machine which can be started and left; it is a partnership in which every citizen must do his share all the time. It is the hope and the cherished vision of every true American to see his country a leader among free nations, a land where liberty and justice prevail, where each citizen has the opportunity to live a happy and useful life, and where the best and most progressive institutions flourish. But it takes hard work to make dreams come true, and the loyal citizen will be ready to do his share of the work. An intelli-

gent, interested, helpful body of citizens, willing to coöperate for the good of all, can make America's future even greater than her splendid past.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. When is a person a citizen of the United States? Are citizens and voters the same? Explain.
2. Name some of the rights of citizens.
3. Name some of the duties of citizens.
4. Is it fair to ask for rights and privileges if we refuse to carry out our duties? Why?
5. Can a democratic country succeed if citizens are selfish, lazy, and unconcerned about public affairs? Explain your answer, and describe the results of such an attitude.
6. Why is it necessary to think of progress? Is not our country great and rich already?
7. What do you think of the so-called good citizen who refuses to take an interest in politics because so many dishonest and selfish men are in control? Why do such men control politics? What is the remedy?
8. Why do public questions demand study? What is the use of looking at a question from all sides?
9. Why should citizens aid in carrying out public work?
10. What do you want America to be in the future? How can you show that this wish is genuine?
11. Write an essay on the topic, "My Rights and My Duties as an American Citizen."

PART TWO

ELEMENTS OF OKLAHOMA HISTORY

KANSAS
TEXAS
ARKANSAS
MISSOURI
Beaver
Buffalo
HARPER
BEAVER
WOODS
Alva
Cherokee
ALFALFA
GRANT
Salt Fork
Medford
Newkirk
KAY
Bartlesville
WASHINGTON
NOWATA
CRAIG
OTTAWA
Nowata
Vinita
Miami
Woodward
WOODWARD
North Fork
Enid
GARFIELD
NOBLE
Pawnee
Pawhuska
OSAGE
Arkansas R.
Clarmore
ROGERS
MAYES
DELAWARE
Pryor
Jay
Grand R.
Arnett
ELLIS
MAJOR
Fairview
Cimarron R.
Perry
PAWNEE
Tulsa
Stillwater
PAYNE
Red Fork
Talogo
DEWEY
Canadian R.
BLAINE
KINGFISHER
LOGAN
Watonga
Kingfisher
Guthrie
Sapulpa
CREEK
Wagoner
WAGONER
Tahlequah
CHEROKEE
ADAIR
Stilwell
ROGER MILLS
CUSTER
Arapaho
Cheyenne
Chandler
OKMULGEE
Okmulgee
Muskogee
MUSKOGEE
El Reno
CANADIAN
OKLAHOMA
LINCOLN
OKFUSKEE
Okemah
SEQUOYAH
Sallisaw
Sayre
BECKHAM
WASHITA
Cordell
Oklahoma City
Eufaula
McINTOSH
Stigler
CADDO
CLEVELAND
Norman
Tecumseh
SEMINOLE
Wewoka
HASKELL
Hobart
Anadarko
GRADY
Chickasha
Purcell
POTTAWATOMIE
Holdenville
HUGHES
GREER
KIOWA
Mangum
Mc Alester
PITTSBURG
Wilburton
LATIMER
Poteau
LE FLORE
HARMON
Hollis
JACKSON
Altus
COMANCHE
Lawton
Pauls Valley
GARVIN
PONTOTOC
Ada
Coalgate
COAL
Sulphur
MURRAY
Duncan
STEPHENS
Frederick
TILLMAN
Walter
COTTON
Red R.
Atoka
ATOKA
PUSHMATAHA
Antlers
CARTER
JOHNSTON
Tishomingo
Waurika
JEFFERSON
Ardmore
Madill
MARSHALL
Durant
CHOCTAW
Hugo
Idabel
MC CURTAIN
LOVE
Marietta
BRYAN
Red R.
COLORADO
KANSAS
NEW MEXICO
CIMARRON
Boise City
TEXAS
Guymon
BEAVER
OKLAHOMA
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40
Longitude 103° West 98° from 96° Greenwich
37°
36°
35°
34°
100°
101°
102°
103°
99°
97°
95°

PREFACE

THE story of Oklahoma contained in the following pages is not intended to be either critical or exhaustive. It is only an attempt to tell in a simple, non-technical way the outlines of the wonderful history of a state whose entire life has been filled with romance. The authors have intentionally omitted much concerning military campaigns, as well as many dates, names, and incidents which would appeal to a trained historian, but which have no place in a book that is intended primarily to arouse in the youth an interest in his state and to give him a readable and rememberable story of its development.

In telling this story, the authors have tried to set forth the larger facts in their proper relationship, and to select out of the mass of detail those features which would give the student a complete, though miniature, picture of the state's development and progress.

For a more exhaustive treatment of the history of the state, the teacher and the student are referred to the scholarly work of Dr. Roy Gittinger entitled *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma.* This history, and the other books that are usually available in the school library, should be consulted freely by the class. By a judicious use of reference readings, the teacher will start the young history student on the right road, namely, the habit of study by the use of collateral readings.

It is confidently hoped and believed that the study of the state's history and government, together with the general principles of government set forth in the first part of the book, will develop in the minds of the young citizens of the state a

feeling of love and honor for their commonwealth and a spirit of active coöperation in all governmental activities. This will aid in the future development of our state, will make for an intelligent preservation and evolution of our system of government, and will develop a high degree of social welfare.

ELEMENTS OF OKLAHOMA HISTORY

CHAPTER I

EXPLORATION AND ACQUISITION

The Spanish Adventurers. — The adventurous spirit of the Spaniard, coupled with his greed for gold, is responsible for the original exploration of a large part of the territory which now makes up Oklahoma. Immediately after the news of the discovery of the New World by Columbus in 1492 reached Spain, there began an era of active explorations by daring Spaniards in America. The names of these bold voyagers and restless adventurers are too well known to the student of early American history to call for repetition here, and it is not necessary to enumerate all those directly or indirectly connected with the exploration of the southern and southwestern portions of North America.

Coronado's Journey. — Among all these famous names, two in particular stand out in connection with the early story of the country in which we are interested. These names are Coronado and De Soto. Coronado was the Spanish governor of the northwestern portion of old Mexico, and between the years 1540 and 1542 he made a remarkable journey to the north and northeast of his province. The inspiration for this journey came from stories told by Spanish refugees from an exploring party along the north shore of the Gulf of Mexico. These survivors told about certain wealthy cities, seen or heard of, far to the north.

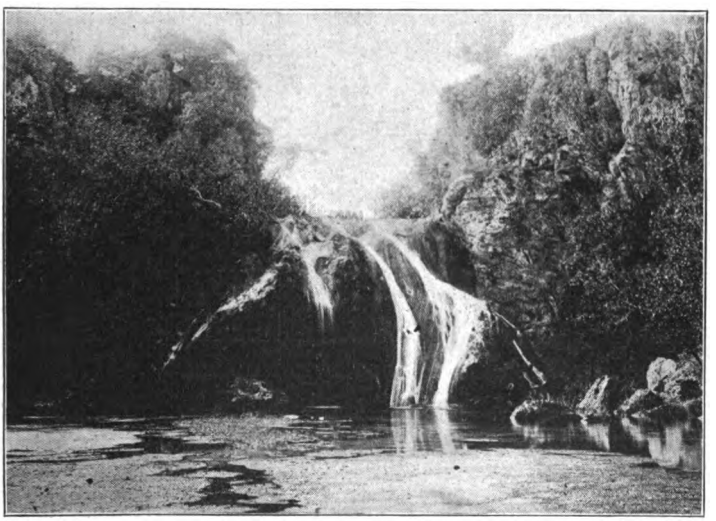
Coronado's expedition was well equipped and its work well executed. His wanderings took him far up into what is now Arizona and New Mexico, thence east into Texas, north through the central part of Oklahoma and into Kansas, and back through Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico again. Coronado failed to find the wealthy cities he had heard about. He encountered scattered tribes of Indians, some living in villages of grass or mud houses; but the wealth he sought was nowhere in evidence. He returned with the remnant of his force, discouraged and dejected; but the story of his hardihood, persistence, and daring is, withal, a creditable one.

De Soto. — At the same time that Coronado was pushing northeast from Mexico toward the Mississippi Valley, another Spanish expedition headed by the famous De Soto was entering this valley from the east. This expedition crossed the Mississippi near the present site of Memphis and moved on westward into Arkansas. Just how far west they traveled is difficult to determine; but the story is told that they crossed the present state of Arkansas and entered Oklahoma, and that an Indian woman who had escaped from Coronado's party fell in with the De Soto party nine days later. On the basis of the story, it may be surmised that the two Spanish exploring parties were near each other somewhere in the interior of the present state of Oklahoma, and probably their tracks crossed.

White Men in Oklahoma Prior to the Landing of the Pilgrims. — At any rate, we know that within a half century after the discovery of America, intrepid Spanish wanderers had become familiar with a large portion of the area of our state. Thus it happened that white men had crossed our plains and streams, had penetrated our forests and hills,

more than seventy-five years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock.

French Explorations. — About a hundred and thirty years after these Spanish explorations, the French began to familiarize themselves with the course of the Mississippi. The first to make progress in the task were Marquette



Turner Falls, Honey Creek, near Davis, Murray County. Scenery like this, while almost unknown in the western part of the state, is frequently encountered in the eastern or Indian Territory portion.

and Joliet. These men came down the tributaries of the great river from the lake region of Wisconsin in 1673, as far as the mouth of the Arkansas. Ten years later the intrepid La Salle completed the course to the mouth, and in the name of the king of France laid formal claim to all the territory drained by the mighty river and all its tributaries, which claim embraced Oklahoma.

The Wood Rangers. — Hard on the heels of these pioneers came the energetic French fur trappers in their light canoes. The smaller streams tributary to the great river were traversed. These fur hunters had the happy faculty of getting on well with the Indians, with whom they plied a lucrative trade. By reason of their method of following up the lesser streams into the very heart of the great woods growing so luxuriantly in the valleys, the French term *coureurs de bois* (coo̅ rûr dē bwä), meaning runners of the woods or wood rangers, was given them.

Ample evidence is not lacking that these industrious French fur hunters were transient settlers in eastern Oklahoma. Permanent tribute is paid to their memory and the language they spoke in many of the names of rivers and mountains in the eastern section of our state. Among these we find the Verdigris (green-gray), Poteau (post), and Grand (large) rivers, and the Ozark (Aux-arcs — with bows) and the San Bois (without woods) mountains.

Three Nations Fight for the Mississippi Valley. — Hence we see that before the close of the seventeenth century two great nations, Spain and France, held conflicting claims to the territory of our state. A little later the English began to penetrate into the Mississippi Valley from the east, and then there developed a three-cornered fight for its ultimate possession. It was the irony of fate that in the end the territory was lost to all three of these powers and became the heritage of the young nation which sprang into being in 1776, as a result of the blunders of the English colonial policy — the United States of America.

Spain Gets Oklahoma. — The story of the struggle among England, France, and Spain for the colonial empire in North America is no necessary part of the history of Oklahoma.

Every student of American history knows how eventually France and Spain joined forces against England and lost; how France was forced to give up to England all the territory she claimed in North America, east of the Mississippi; and how France gave to Spain, in payment for aid in the war with England, all her territory west of the river, which had been given the name Louisiana after King Louis.

Napoleon Takes Oklahoma from Spain. — Toward the close of the eighteenth century Napoleon Bonaparte rose to power in France. Napoleon had dreams of world dominion. A portion of his dreams was the creation of a colonial French empire in America; and at the beginning of the nineteenth century he persuaded his weak neighbor Spain to turn back to France the Louisiana country. This was done in the secret treaty of San Ildefonso (1800–1801). Soon afterward Napoleon, fearing the British navy and the possible loss of his American colony, sold Louisiana to the United States for an insignificant sum, in 1803.

Jefferson Buys Louisiana Territory. — The purchase of Louisiana by President Jefferson was a great stroke of genius. By this act the territorial area of the United States was doubled. Millions of acres of the richest land in the world were secured at the ridiculously low figure of three cents an acre. The Mississippi River became a national waterway of the United States, instead of an international boundary line; and Oklahoma, as a state of the American Union, was made possible.

Boundary Line between Oklahoma and Spanish Territory. — The boundary line between the Louisiana Purchase and the Spanish possessions to the southwest of it was not accurately determined until 1819, in the terms of a treaty with Spain, which also provided for the purchase of

Florida. This boundary line is important to us, because the territory of the present state of Texas was at that time Spanish property. The line agreed upon, in so far as it affects Oklahoma, was the Red River from Arkansas west to the hundredth meridian; thence north on this meridian, to its junction with the Arkansas River, which occurs well up in the state of Kansas. These two boundaries, the Red River on the south and the hundredth meridian on the west, constitute the major part of the boundary lines to-day between Oklahoma and Texas.

Giant Cypress Tree, McCurtain County. People passing through the central part of Oklahoma on the trunk line railway see only wide stretches of level prairie land, and note the farming area or perhaps the oil fields. This picture tells the story of the timber wealth in the southeastern portion.

The Panhandle or No Man's Land. — By glancing at the map on page 225, it will be seen that the line of the hundredth meridian cuts off on the west a long narrow strip of Oklahoma land, known as the Panhandle. This land was not a part of the Louisiana Purchase, and the way it happened to become a part of Oklahoma is an interesting story. It was originally Spanish territory, until Mexico secured her independence from Spain, when it became Mexican

territory. Then Texas became independent, and it was Texas territory.

Finally, Texas desired to enter the American Union. At that time, 1845, there was a political agreement between the slave and the free states, or between their leaders in Congress, regarding the admission of new states; namely, that slavery should not exist in these new states north of the line 36° 30′. This agreement was known as the Missouri Compromise. So, because Texas wanted to enter the Union as a slave state, she eventually gave up her claim to territory north of that line.

In 1850 the territory of New Mexico was organized, with its eastern boundary as at present, and four years afterward the territory of Kansas was organized with its southern boundary at 37°. This left a strip of land about 35 miles wide and 160 miles long outside the boundaries of any state or territory. It soon became known as No Man's Land and remained as such until 1890, when it was attached to the Territory of Oklahoma by act of Congress.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Find out how much the United States paid for the whole Louisiana Territory.
2. Figure the price per acre and the total original cost of Oklahoma, aside from No Man's Land.
3. Name the present counties in No Man's Land.
4. Make a list of the names of five streams, mountains, or places in Oklahoma which indicate that the French were here at one time.
5. In what way did the Spanish and the French who were in Oklahoma in the early days differ in character and activities?
6. From what directions did the Spanish, French, and English enter the Mississippi Valley?
7. Give reasons why the English race, rather than the Spanish or the French, secured final control of the territory of Oklahoma.

CHAPTER II

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY

The Acquisition of Oklahoma. — As has been seen, the land included within the present borders of the state of Oklahoma was acquired by the United States in two separate sections, by two important political transactions: the main body of the state, by the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, and the narrow strip extending west along the border of Kansas and Colorado, known as the Panhandle, by the annexation of Texas in 1845.

In the development of this area, the Panhandle portion is of little political importance, but the history of the Louisiana Purchase portion forms one of the most interesting and romantic stories of our national life. For more than a hundred years the final destiny of this remarkable section remained one of the most perplexing problems which our statesmen were called upon to solve. No other section of the United States secured so much attention from the leading public men of the nation, through three generations of our history.

The Indian Question. — The chief reason for the difficulties connected with the development of this territory was the fact that the problem involved the solution of the Indian question. At the opening of the nineteenth century, there were certain groups of Indians located in the Southern states, later known as the Five Civilized Tribes; namely, the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles. These Indians held large tracts of valuable land in the states of Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi. They had their own tribal laws and their own officials, and conducted their governments in their own way. They had treaties

with the national government which guaranteed them title to their lands and freedom from interference by white men.

As the white population in these Southern states increased, the white settlers looked more and more upon these Indian lands with greedy eyes. The Indians were not as skillful and energetic farmers as their white neighbors, and the white men felt that it was not right to allow the land held by them to lie idle. Therefore, these states developed a sentiment of hostility toward the Indians. Frequent quarrels resulted, and public men constantly sought means of getting rid of the Indians.

Southern Indians Move West. — With the purchase of Louisiana, the United States secured a vast area of unoccupied land west of the Mississippi. President Jefferson immediately set about to find a way of moving the Indians into this area, in order to relieve the Southern states of their Indian problem. The plan moved slowly at first, and it was not until 1817 that the first treaty was made, whereby a portion of the Cherokees gave up their lands in Georgia, and took land on the Arkansas and White rivers in the northwest corner of the present state of Arkansas. In 1820 a similar treaty was made with a portion of the Choctaws of Mississippi, which constituted the first cession within the limits of what is now the state of Oklahoma. These Choctaws located between the Red River and the Canadian, and five years later an agreement was made establishing the east line of this cession, beginning on the Arkansas River 100 paces east of the military post of Fort Smith and running south to the Red River. In 1828 the Cherokees, who had settled on the White River, becoming annoyed by white settlers, again agreed to move farther west, and the eastern limit of their land was established, beginning at

the southwest corner of Missouri and connecting with the north end of the Choctaw line, on the Arkansas River.

Eastern Boundary of Oklahoma. — These preliminary agreements with portions of the Cherokee and Choctaw tribes are of much importance in the history of Oklahoma in two respects. In the first place, they established a continuous line from Missouri to Texas, marking the eastern limit of Indian lands. This line has remained ever since and is now the state line between Arkansas and Oklahoma. In the second place, these treaties became the basis of a definite policy: that of removing the Indians from the old states and settling them in the new section, which soon became known as the Indian Territory.

Jackson Aids the Movement of Indians. — The policy of creating an Indian Territory was formally adopted by Congress in Jackson's administration, in an act authorizing the President to set aside land for the Indians "west of the Mississippi and not included in any state or organized territory." The Southern states welcomed the opportunity of finally disposing of the Indians, and the plan now proceeded rapidly. President Jackson had been an Indian fighter who believed that the best Indian campaign was the one which left the fewest Indians alive. The Southern states had a valuable ally in the President, in their program to rid themselves of the Indians and secure their lands for the white citizens.[1] The success of the program of expelling the Indians was therefore assured.

[1] It should not be concluded that the white men of the South were different from those of the North in desiring to be rid of the Indians and to secure their lands. Following the Civil War, the states of the North were successful in carrying out exactly the same policy regarding the Plains Indians. Land grabbing is a human trait not peculiar to any section. See page 225.

Treaties were entered into between the government and the chiefs or head-men claiming to represent these tribes. The influence used by the government in securing these treaties, and the extent to which the Indians making the treaties actually represented the tribes concerned, may probably never be known. The details of these arrangements need not be examined here, and it is enough to say that the whole proceeding of securing the agreements and of carrying them out was of no particular credit to our government.

Difficulties Attending the Transfer of the Indians. — The Cherokees claimed that the treaty with their tribe was invalid, and refused to move. Finally General Winfield Scott appeared with a considerable body of troops, in the early spring of 1838, and what remained of the tribe was forced to make the trip across country to the Indian Territory. Great suffering from sickness, hunger, and cold resulted, and many of the Indians died during this unhappy journey. Bitter internal strife in the tribe also arose between the leaders who had favored the treaty of removal and those who had opposed it. Similar internal strife occurred in the case of the treaty with the Creek Indians, although the actual movement was not attended with such unhappiness.

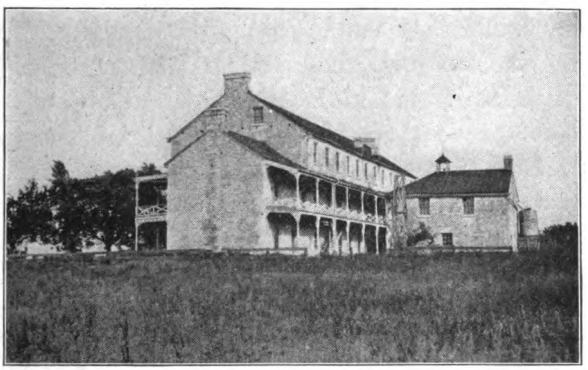
The Seminoles of Florida proved even more hostile to the idea than their neighbors had been. The story of the famous chief Osceola, who continued to fight as long as he was alive and free, is well known. In the end he was treacherously seized under the pretext of a flag of truce and he died, heartbroken, in captivity. The remnant of his tribe then surrendered, and the tribe was given land in the central part of the Indian Territory along with that of their kinsmen, the Creeks.

The Chickasaws of Alabama were assigned a region in the southern part of the territory, securing land from the Choctaws, with whom they shared tribal relations for a time; but in the end they separated, establishing their own tribal government.

The Five Civilized Tribes Settled. — The decade preceding the Civil War found the Five Civilized Tribes well established in their new homes. The period of their unhappiness seemed to be over. The federal government had entered into solemn treaty agreements with them, promising them safety and protection from the disturbing white man, and had agreed that their new territory should never be included within the boundaries of any state or organized territory. The Choctaws and Chickasaws occupied the southern portion of the territory between the Red River and the Canadian; the Creeks and Seminoles, the central portion; and the Cherokees the northeastern portion, with an "outlet" extending westward along the north, which was intended to serve as a free access to the hunting grounds in the Rocky Mountains.

Northern Boundary of Oklahoma. — In 1854 the Kansas-Nebraska bill established the southern line of Kansas territory at 37°, and this accordingly became the northern line of the Indian Territory. A little block of land in the northeast corner of the Indian Territory between Grand River and the Missouri line had been given to the Quapaws, Senecas, and Shawnees. But aside from this little area, and the public land strip north of the Texas Panhandle, the area of the present state of Oklahoma was now owned or controlled by the Five Civilized Tribes; it was universally known as the Indian Territory and was generally thought of as the future site of an Indian state.

Indian Governments. — Each of the tribes had its own written constitution, and chose its own executive, legislative, and judicial officers; and the Indians, in general, were making satisfactory progress in the ways and arts of the white man. How the dark cloud of the Civil War



Indian Academy, Bromide, Coal County, built in 1854.

brought grief and tragedy to these peaceful and prosperous Indians, who had no original part in the white man's quarrel, will be told in the next chapter.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Which one of the Five Civilized Tribes furnished the first permanent settlement for Oklahoma?
2. Name a leading man in each of the Five Civilized Tribes.
3. Draw an outline map of Oklahoma and indicate on it in a general way the location and extent of land assigned originally to each of the five tribes.
4. Name the states which border on Oklahoma.
5. Tell how some of the boundary lines of Oklahoma were originally established.
6. What were some of the reasons for moving the Indians into the Indian Territory?

CHAPTER III

THE CIVIL WAR IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY

The Indians Prefer to Remain Neutral. — When the Civil War broke upon the United States, the Five Civilized Tribes felt that they had no part in the struggle. Notwithstanding the fact that these Indians had been taught the ways of the white men in the old South and naturally would incline to the Southern viewpoint in politics, and in spite of their harsh treatment from the government at Washington and its military forces, the Indians hoped and trusted that they would be allowed to live at peace with that government and enjoy its protection. As early as February 7, 1861, the Choctaw Legislature adopted a resolution, which among other things said: "We view with deep regret and great solicitude the present unhappy political disagreement, portending much injury to the Choctaw government and people." On June 17, 1861, Chief John Ross of the Cherokees addressed a letter to General Ben McCulloch, commanding the Confederate forces across the line in Arkansas, stating that he and his people wished to remain neutral.

War Forced upon the Indians. — But just as a strong, powerful nation is not always able to maintain a neutral position and keep out of a war in which it has no original part, so it was with these weak nations or tribes, in relation to the Civil War. The location of their territory fell within the natural area of the Southern Confederacy; Arkansas on the east and Texas on the south became active, early in the war, in behalf of the South. The Indian agents, appointed by Buchanan's administration, were in sympathy with the Confederacy and used their influence to convince

the Indians that their destiny lay with the South. The Confederate government early in the war directed its attention toward securing control of the Indian Territory and sent some very able agents to treat with the Indians. Chief among these agents was General Albert Pike, a very resourceful man, living at Fort Smith, Arkansas, who had had much experience with the Indians and understood them well.

Union Forces Withdrawn. — Probably the thing which most effectively determined the action of the Five Civilized Tribes in this war was the abandonment of the Indian Territory by the federal military forces, early in 1861. The success of the Confederates in the early engagements in southwestern Missouri caused the government to adopt the timid policy of withdrawing its forces from military posts in the Indian Territory to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. The result was that the Confederates immediately moved in, and through influence and coercion, treaties of alliance with the Five Civilized Tribes were secured by the Confederacy during the year 1861. How far these treaties represented the will of the tribes will probably never be known. Certain it is that a considerable portion of the Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles remained loyal to the Union; and the result was a condition of civil war within these tribes, bringing much hardship, suffering, and death to them. In his annual report in 1862, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington deplored the sufferings of the Indians, caused by the government's lack of aggressive action and failure to fulfill faithfully its treaties and promises of protection, and called attention to the loyalty of large numbers of the Indians.

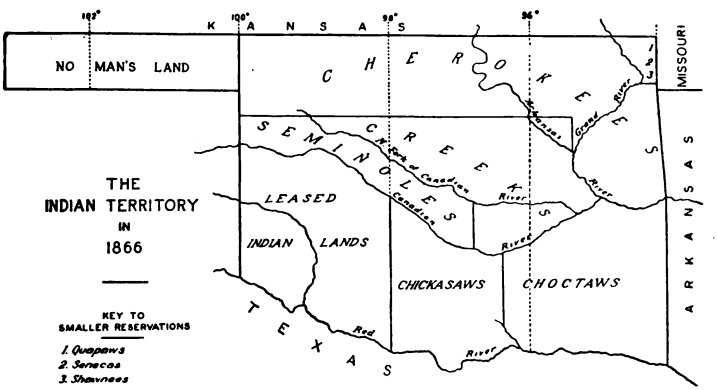
Internal Strife. — Besides the internal warfare between factions of tribes which supported either the Union or the

Confederacy, an intermittent warfare was carried on between Union and Confederate armies in the Indian Territory. From the time of the withdrawal of the Union forces to Fort Leavenworth, in the spring of 1861, the Confederate army held the territory without important incident, until the defeat of the Confederate army at Pea Ridge, Arkansas, in March, 1862. Thereafter the main Confederate army was withdrawn to the east of the Mississippi, and the force of Indian troops under General Pike, which had aided the Confederates at Pea Ridge, fell back to the southern part of the Choctaw country, where it remained inactive for months. In the fall of 1862 the Union forces took Fort Gibson in the Cherokee country and, in general, remained in control of the Indian Territory north of the Arkansas River during the remainder of the war.

Four Unhappy Years. — The incidents of the unimportant and desultory fighting between the Union and the Confederate forces in the Indian Territory during the four unhappy years of the war need not be described in detail here. Suffice it to say that the tragic affair destroyed homes, brought desolation in place of the prosperity which had developed in the brief period between the establishment of the Five Civilized Tribes in their new lands and the opening of the war, revived old feuds, and created new ones among the Indians.

The important thing to note is that the close of the Civil War found these tribes suppliants before the government of the victorious Union, asking the reëstablishment of peace and the renewal of treaty relations. This gave the government its pretext to establish a new policy, which had been considered even before the war, and had been discussed in the Congress at Washington during the war.

New Policies. — This new policy was the settlement of northern and plains Indians in the western portion of the Indian Territory. Kansas and other states were as anxious now to get rid of their reservation Indians as the Southern states had been, forty years earlier, to secure the movement of the civilized tribes out of their borders. Using the argument that the treaties entered into with the Confederacy had been evidence of bad faith, which demanded a penalty, the federal government now required, as the price of peace,



that the Five Civilized Tribes should surrender the western portion of their lands. Besides this, the Indians were forced to free their slaves and admit them to tribal membership; and also to give up rights of way for the building of railroads through the territory. Provision was made for establishing a central council for the tribes, which should be the medium for the conduct of inter-tribal relations and relations with the federal government.

Harshness of the Government. — The whole story of the actions and the attitude of the government respecting

the Indians in the Indian Territory, during the Civil War and at its conclusion, shows nothing of particular credit to the nation. The Indians were abandoned by the military forces of the Union early in the war through a weak policy of self-interest and in disregard of treaty promises of protection; and the forces and influences of the Confederacy were allowed to work their will upon the defenseless tribes. Notwithstanding this, according to the war records of the government, 3530 Indians out of a total population of about 50,000, or 7 per cent, enlisted in the Union army. If there had been the same rate of voluntary enlistment in the recent World War, our government could have had a volunteer army of 7,000,000; while as a matter of fact it secured only about half a million volunteers, the remainder of the army being raised by draft.

In spite of this exhibition of loyalty among the Indians, Mr. Harlan, the Secretary of the Interior, in justification of the policy he advocated toward them, stated in his annual report of December, 1865, that "the perfidious conduct of the Indians in making unprovoked war upon us, has been visited with the severest retribution."

What the War Cost the Indians. — The retribution he referred to was the destruction of property and loss of life in the Indian Territory. The extent of the loss of life may never be known, but a rough guess may be made by studying the following figures taken from the reports of the Indian Commissioner, giving the Indian population in the territory in the years 1855 and 1866 respectively:

Total Indian population, 1855	66,582
Total Indian population, 1866	47,690

The final adjustment of affairs in the Indian Territory following the Civil War was not particularly different from

what might have been expected had there been no vexed questions arising from that struggle. It was evident that the railroads would eventually pierce the territory; that slavery would be abolished; that western Indians would be settled here; and that the land would become a "white man's country." But the harsh language and unjust abuse indulged in by the Secretary of the Interior could not fail to increase the difficulties of an amicable and speedy settlement of the Indian problems, and of the establishment of pleasant relations and cordial coöperation in the future.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

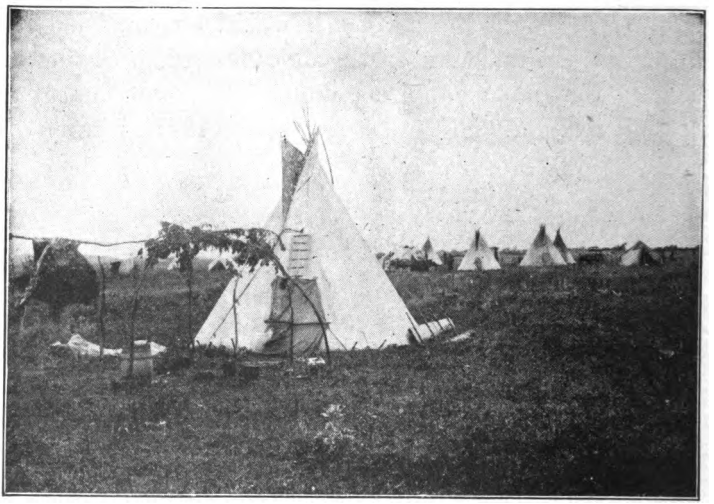
1. What was the desire of the majority of the Indians regarding the Civil War?
2. With which side would the Civilized Tribes naturally sympathize in the war? Why?
3. What important action regarding the Indian Territory was taken by the national government at the close of the Civil War?
4. How much difference was there in the total Indian population in the Indian Territory in 1866 and in 1855? How do you account for this difference?

CHAPTER IV

RECONSTRUCTION

The Plains Indians. — No mention has been made of Indians in the Indian Territory, other than the Five Civilized Tribes and those who were established on the little block of land at the southwest corner of Missouri. It has been pointed out that, with the exception of this little corner given over to the Quapaws, Senecas, and Shawnees, the Civilized Tribes held possession of the Indian Territory

prior to the Civil War. For the purposes of main discussion, this is correct; but it is well to note here that before the arrival of the Plains Indians in this territory in 1866, in accordance with the plan of reconstruction, there were already present certain tribes or portions of tribes of Plains



Indian Teepees (Arapahoes), Darlington, Canadian County. These canvas wigwams are still used by the Plains Indians of western Oklahoma. The Indians of the civilized tribes of the eastern part of the state abandoned this type of dwelling generations ago.

Indians, in particular the Wichitas, Comanches, Kiowas, and Apaches, in the southwest.

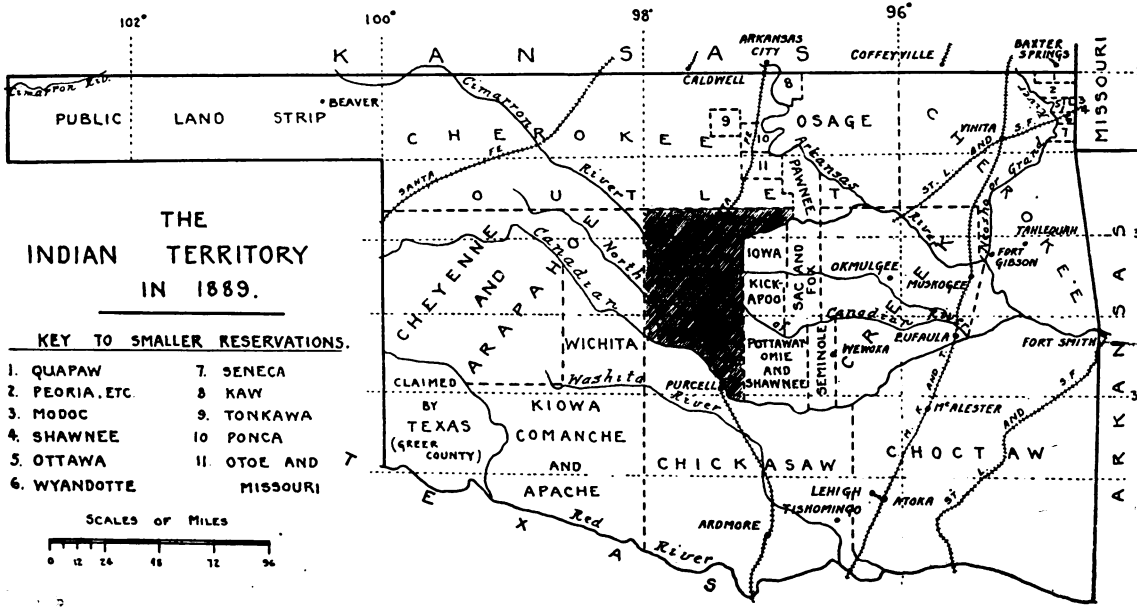
The Council at Camp Holmes. — The Wichitas claimed this section as their original home, and after the federal government assigned these lands to the Choctaws and Chickasaws, the Wichitas and their neighbors protested. To avoid trouble, the United States commissioners, as early as 1835, called a council of interested tribes at Camp Holmes,

near the present site of the city of Purcell. Here the representatives of the Wichitas and Comanches met those of the Five Civilized Tribes and of the tribes living at the Missouri border, and a friendly agreement was secured by the aid of the government's representatives, making the "Great Prairies west of the Cross Timbers"[1] a common hunting ground. Two years later the Kiowas and Apaches were included in this agreement.

The Eastern and Western Halves of the Territory. — This incident is of particular interest to us, for, as Dr. Gittinger says, "What is now Oklahoma was divided by a line drawn north and south, almost through its center — a prophecy of the time when the Civilized Tribes were to have its eastern half and 'blanket' Indians its western half."

The fulfillment of this prophecy was the most important result of the readjustment between the government and the Civilized Tribes in the reconstruction period. The location of blanket Indians in the western portion of the territory proceeded rapidly, and in less than two decades after the war there were to be found in the Indian Territory, in whole or in part, thirty-eight different Indian tribes. In 1879 the total Indian population of the territory was 70,000, approximately one half of the Indians of the United States being assembled here. More than ever before, the section was rightly called the "Indian" territory. A glance at the accompanying map will show how the land holdings of the Civilized Tribes were reduced, as well as the locations of the new arrivals, the blanket Indians.

[1] The term "Cross Timbers" used in the language of this agreement is thought to mean the belts of timber which extend in broken patches across the central portion of the state from southwest to northeast and mark roughly the division between the prairie lands of the west and the timber lands of the east.



The dark area indicates the unassigned lands which became the original portion of Oklahoma Territory, April 22, 1889.

Used by permission from "Formation of State of Oklahoma" by Gittinger - Pub. by Calif Univ. Press.

The Unassigned Lands. — In the central part of the territory a block of land remained unassigned. The failure of the government to locate any of the tribes on this area became the opening wedge which forced asunder the claim of the Redman to undisturbed possession of the entire territory, and resulted in a tidal wave of settlement by white men, sweeping away the last vestige of the long-cherished idea of an Indian commonwealth. More concerning this part of the story will be told later.

The Coming of the Railroads. — The second important feature of the reconstruction program was the granting of the right of way to railroads through the Indian Territory. Within four years after the new treaties were made, the first railroad, the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas, entered the territory from Kansas in 1870. This road passed through the territory from northeast to southwest, splitting in twain the eastern half of the Indian country, and revealing to the outside world something of the wonderful possibilities of this beautiful land. Fifteen years later the Santa Fé railroad entered the territory at Arkansas City and pushed rapidly due south into Texas, cutting the Indian Territory in two, at almost the exact center. Four years after this the Rock Island railway entered the Territory at Caldwell, Kansas, about thirty miles west of where the Santa Fé had entered. The Rock Island, in turn, pushed rapidly due south into Texas, paralleling the Santa Fé. Besides these, there were other roads of less importance, built in the northeastern part of the state, immediately following the construction of the "Katy."

The railroads accomplished two important results. In the first place, they hastened the time when the white man was to establish himself in the land which had been originally

set aside as the permanent and exclusive home of the Redman. In the second place, these early railroads, by reason of the direction in which they traversed the territory, exercised a very important influence upon the type of white inhabitants who later settled Oklahoma.

Oklahoma Population of the Border Type. — Each new western state has been filled up largely by immigrants from the states directly east of it, for the reason that by moving on lines parallel to the equator, no change of climate results; likewise no change of crops or agricultural methods is necessary. But in the settlement of Oklahoma the rule was broken. White people flocked into the territory from both north and south, instead of from the east. Consequently, the population is much more cosmopolitan — that is, more varied by reason of the mingling of Northerners and Southerners — than would otherwise have been the case. The states directly east of Oklahoma — Arkansas, Tennessee, and the Carolinas — are typically Southern states, while Oklahoma is of the border type, its inhabitants resembling more the character of those of Kansas, Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland.

The Freedmen. — A third provision covered in the treaties of reconstruction was that regarding slaves held by the Indians. Not only were the slaves to be freed, but additional requirements were made in their interests. The Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles were required to receive their freed slaves into tribal citizenship. The Choctaws and Chickasaws were given a choice of making them citizens, or of permitting the United States government to remove them from the tribal districts; in the latter case these two tribes were to forfeit, for the benefit of the former slaves, the tribal money received from the sale of their west-

ern lands. In the end, all the tribes received the freedmen into tribal membership and shared their lands with them. Of course, the amount of benefits derived by the ex-slaves differed in the different tribes, by reason of the fact that the tribal membership and amount of tribal lands varied from tribe to tribe.

Failure of the Central Council. — Another measure of the reconstruction treaties was that providing for the es-

Indian grass house, Caddo County. This is a decided improvement over the tepee. Some of the Wichita Indians still live in this type of home. Note the "summer home" at the right. Coronado mentioned these grass houses in connection with his trip in 1542.

tablishment of a central or general council composed of members selected from each of the Five Civilized Tribes for the conduct of inter-tribal relations. It was hoped that this council would form the basis from which a territorial government could be developed. The federal government agreed to pay the salaries of these delegates, and member-

ship in the council was apportioned among the tribes according to population. The Indians looked with disfavor on the plan to establish a territorial government, as they felt that such action would hasten the arrival of white men in their country. The plan failed in the end, as we shall see later, no government ever being organized in the territory held by the Five Tribes, other than their separate tribal governments.

The Naming of Oklahoma. — One thing of interest is worth noting in the clauses of the Choctaw and Chickasaw treaties, relating to the formation of this general council. In these it was provided that the president of the council should be called the "Governor of the Territory of Oklahoma." This seems to be the first time that the word *Oklahoma* was used officially in connection with the Indian Territory. Some three or four years later the word was again used in a bill before Congress providing for the organization of the Indian Territory under the name of Oklahoma. It was explained at that time that the word was from the Choctaw language and meant "home for the Redman." The bill failed to pass. Many other unsuccessful attempts were made to organize the territory under different names, and eventually the name "Oklahoma" began to be applied, not to the whole Indian Territory, but only to that portion in the center which had remained unassigned after the reconstruction period.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Name five tribes of Plains Indians which were settled in Oklahoma.
2. What important results did the building of railroads into Oklahoma bring?

3. How does the white population in Oklahoma differ from that of Arkansas or Tennessee? Explain the cause of this difference.

4. Name four important requirements of the reconstruction treaties.

5. When was the word "Oklahoma" first used? What does the word mean?

6. How many different tribes of Indians are now represented in Oklahoma, approximately?

7. In what way did Indian slaveholders in the territory fare worse than white slaveholders in the southern states, at the close of the war?

8. What advantage did the former slaves secure by being admitted to tribal membership?

CHAPTER V

THE OPENING OF OKLAHOMA TERRITORY; BOOMERS AND SOONERS

The Unassigned Lands Become Known as Oklahoma. — Mention has been made of the fact that in the assignment of the western lands of the Five Civilized Tribes to the Plains Indians, a block of land in the central part of the territory remained unassigned. This area, which had become known as "Oklahoma," as previously explained, consisted of about three thousand square miles, extending from the Cherokee outlet on the north to the Canadian River on the south. As this land remained unoccupied, it began to attract the attention of homeseekers, who claimed that it was open to settlement under the homestead law, the same as other public land.

The Boomers. — In order to reach this land, it was necessary to cross the Cherokee outlet which lay to the north, or the Chickasaw country lying to the south of it.

This involved a considerable journey overland, as no railroad entered this section till 1885–86, when the Santa Fé built south from Arkansas City, Kansas. The general exclusion of white men from the Indian Territory was another difficulty which had to be faced by prospective settlers. Therefore, individual settlers hesitated to make the attempt, and there resulted a practice of organizing groups of colonizers, who styled themselves "Boomers," a name evidently picked up in the West from the practice of developing, or "booming," real estate ventures.

Boudinot Calls Attention to Oklahoma. — One of the first men to call the attention of the general public to this unoccupied land was Elias C. Boudinot, a member of one of the leading Cherokee families who had been active in Cherokee tribal affairs during and after the Civil War. Early in 1879 the Chicago *Times* printed an article by Boudinot on unoccupied lands in the Indian Territory, and other papers throughout the country copied the article, giving it wide publicity.

Captain Payne. — The year following the publication of Boudinot's article, a man of considerable ability and persistence as an organizer began active preparations to invade these unoccupied lands from the Kansas border with a band of homeseekers. This man was David L. Payne, who had been a captain in the regiment of Kansas volunteer cavalry which had aided the regulars in suppressing uprisings among the Plains Indians of western Kansas and Oklahoma in 1868–69. Captain Payne became known as the "King of the Boomers" and led one expedition after another into the "promised land," each time being ejected by soldiers.

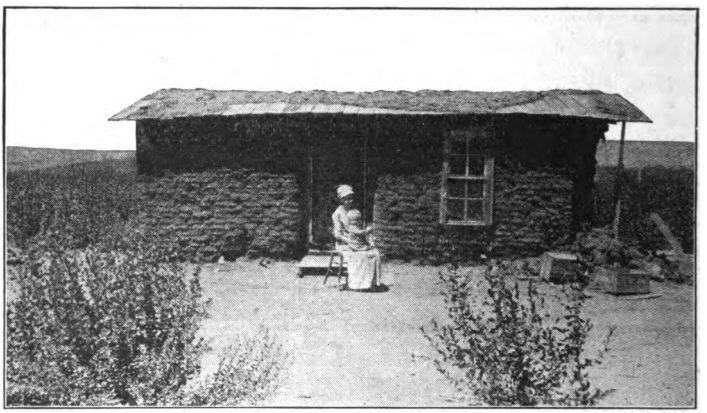
Finally he was proceeded against by the United States attorneys in the federal court at Fort Smith, Arkansas, for

violation of a law against intruders in the Indian Territory. The only penalty provided for in the law was the payment of $1000, which must be collected by the government the same as a debt in a civil suit. Since Payne had no property which the court could seize, and he could not be put into jail because the law did not provide this penalty, he paid no attention to the decree of the court, but immediately began the organization of another expedition. Payne became a sort of local hero, claiming that he and his followers had a perfect legal right to settle on these unoccupied lands, and that the courts and military authorities were persecuting him. Captain Payne and his activities are remembered in Oklahoma through a county named in his honor.

William L. Couch. — Payne died suddenly in 1884, but his plans were continued by his able lieutenant, William L. Couch, who later became the first mayor of Oklahoma City. Couch led a company of some three or four hundred Boomers into the territory in the late fall of 1884, and established a settlement near the present site of Stillwater. When a detachment of soldiers appeared with orders to eject his band, Couch informed the commander, Colonel Hatch, that he intended to fight. Reënforcements for the troops were requested, and a fight seemed in prospect; but the colonel moved his soldiers to the north so as to cut off reënforcements and food supplies from the Boomers, and they were soon starved into submission. Captain Couch was indicted in the court at Wichita for resisting military authority, but the case was afterward dropped, when it appeared that Couch would not renew his practice.

The Boomers Win. — The Boomers won their initial victory in Congress in March, 1885, when a law was passed, authorizing the government to negotiate with the Creeks

and Seminoles for the removal of restrictions on the Oklahoma section. Their final victory was won on March 2, 1889, when an appropriation was passed making a payment of something over four million dollars to these two tribes, which gave the government full title to the unoccupied land. The bill also authorized the President to open this



Sod house in Dewey County. This is the sort of home many early settlers in Oklahoma Territory provided for their families. It is as typically an American pioneer home as the log cabin in which Lincoln was born.

land to settlement by proclamation. This proclamation was issued on March 23, designating twelve o'clock, noon, April 22, 1889, as the time of the formal opening of Oklahoma to settlement. Thus ended the ten-year period of agitation and waiting on the part of the white home-seekers, and with it ended the century-long hope of an Indian commonwealth in the United States.

The Great Race for Homes. — The rush into Oklahoma for homes was a most unique and dramatic affair. Never before had the world witnessed such a spectacle. The story of this incident alone would make an interesting book.

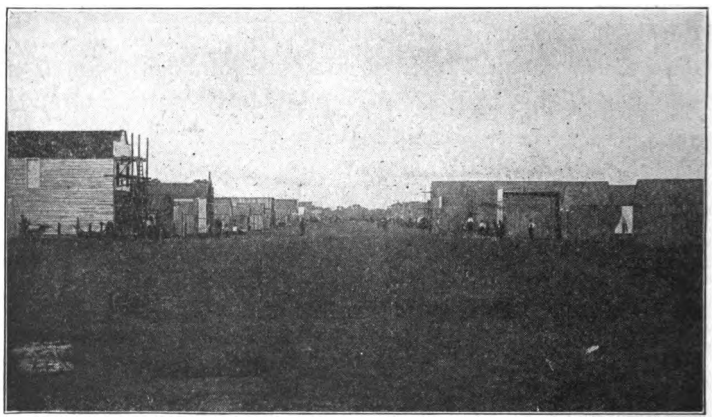
It is enough to say here that, at the given hour and minute, a throng of 100,000 people swept over the line into the coveted area, and Oklahoma was settled in a day. Of these persons, 60,000 remained as permanent settlers, forming the nucleus of the population of one of the most remarkable states in the Union. One section after another was added to the original area until within eighteen years it had reached its maximum of more than 70,000 square miles. The population in thirty years grew from 60,000 to 2,250,000.

No Government Provided for Oklahoma. — Aside from the dramatic beginning and unprecedented growth of Oklahoma, the most remarkable thing about its history is the fact that upwards of sixty thousand people lived in an orderly manner within its restricted borders for more than a year with no legally constituted government. When the bill opening Oklahoma to settlement was rushed through Congress, during the closing days of its session, no provision whatever was made for the organization of government. But the progressive settlers of Oklahoma were too capable and too sensible to allow such unpardonable oversight on the part of Congress to disturb their peace or progress. A thousand years of practice in the arts of free government had developed a genius for political organization in the Anglo-Saxon race, which showed itself at its best in Oklahoma, the day after the opening.

Cities Organize. — The case of Oklahoma City is typical. Here the citizens met in an open square. A man mounted a wagon and called the meeting to order, and by acclamation they elected a temporary mayor, who was authorized to appoint a committee to draw up a charter, or framework of city government. A few days later the committee reported its plan, which was adopted. An election of the required

officers was promptly held, and the city government began its operations. Courts were established, schools organized, churches built, and matters proceeded in an orderly fashion, just as though full legal provision had been made for a government.

Territorial Government. — It was not until May, 1890, that Congress finally passed the organic act which estab-



California Avenue, Oklahoma City, May, 1889. Thirty years later this town site, which in April, 1889, was virgin prairie, supports a city of 100,000 people, with business houses 12 stories high, and with 40 miles of paved streets.

lished the Territory of Oklahoma. The original area was divided into six counties; and No Man's Land, north of the Texas Panhandle, was attached to Oklahoma as the seventh county. The usual form of territorial government was provided for, with an elective legislature of two houses, and the governor, secretary, and territorial judges appointed by the President.

Additional Openings of Land for Settlement. — As has been noted, the first addition to the original area of Okla-

homa was made in 1890, when No Man's Land, which had already been settled under the homestead law, became a part of Oklahoma Territory. Within a year or so after this other lands of the original Indian Territory, which had been assigned to Plains Indians, were thrown open to white settlement one after another, and attached to Oklahoma Territory. The famous Cherokee outlet, which had become known as the "Cherokee strip," was purchased from the Cherokees and opened to settlement in 1893, in the same manner as the original area had been opened. At this time another race for homes occurred which rivaled in magnitude the original opening.

The process of enlargement was practically completed in 1901, when the Kiowa-Comanche country was opened by a lottery system, land numbers being drawn from a receptacle, instead of the old plan of racing. A portion of this country, known as the "Big Pasture," was withheld for a few years and later sold to settlers by sealed bids. The additions extended the limits of Oklahoma to meet the boundaries of Kansas on the north and of Texas on the south and west, multiplying the area and the population approximately ten times.

The Osage Country—The Osage Indians had been assigned land in the Cherokee country between the ninety-sixth meridian and the Arkansas River along the southern border of Kansas, about one and a half million acres in all. This reservation was not thrown open to white settlement after allotments had been made to tribe members, as had been done in the case of other blanket Indian reservations in the Oklahoma Territory section. But white inhabitants had filtered in here after the manner of the settlement in the Indian Territory. The close of the territorial period found

these fortunate Indians, about two thousand in number, still possessed of their entire estate, upon which valuable mineral wealth was being discovered. To-day this tribe is said to be the wealthiest (per capita) race in the world. The enabling act of 1906 provided that their country should be incorporated as a single county in the new state with two delegates to the constitutional convention.

The Sooners. — The story is told of a man who by previous travels had become familiar with an excellent quarter section of fine bottom land in Oklahoma, which he determined to have for his farm. Accordingly, he secured a very fine race horse and, at the crack of the gun which announced the opening, he set out at full speed from his position upon the nearest point on the border, making a direct line over the plains, hills, and valleys for his prospective farm. He easily outdistanced all his competitors in the race, but when he arrived on the coveted 160 acres he found a man complacently plowing with a yoke of oxen. The story well illustrates a practice by which many settlers secured choice farms by secretly entering the area sooner than those who awaited the signal. They accordingly became known as "Sooners."

Oklahoma the "Sooner State." — The term has remained, now having a more complimentary meaning than originally, it being applied to one who is energetic and efficient, thus accomplishing his purposes sooner than might have been expected. By reason of its original use and the fact that the state is filled with energetic people who have made possible its early and unparalleled development, Oklahoma has become known as the "Sooner State."

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. How did the terms "Boomer" and "Sooner" originate?
2. Tell something of the story of Captain Payne. Why was it that the government did not prosecute Captain Payne and other boomers more severely? Where is Payne County located?
3. When was the official proclamation issued for the formal opening of Oklahoma, and what time was designated for the entrance of settlers?
4. What reasons would you give for the fact that Oklahoma was settled so rapidly?
5. What oversight was Congress guilty of when provision was made for settling Oklahoma? How did the cities in Oklahoma make up for this oversight?
6. What is meant by "staking a claim"?
7. How many settlers were there in Oklahoma the first day it was thrown open to settlement?
8. What form of government did Oklahoma have in territorial days?
9. Name four different sections of country in the western half of the original Indian Territory which were thrown open to settlement.
10. State some of the methods used by the government in disposing of its lands in Oklahoma.

CHAPTER VI

SETTLEMENT OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY BY WHITE PEOPLE

Who were Included in the Term "Indians"? — At the close of the Civil War there were about fifty thousand Indians in the Indian Territory. This constituted approximately the entire population of the area, for, as has been shown, the land had been set aside by the government for the exclusive use of the Indians. So far as the Civilized Tribes were concerned, the term "Indian" meant a person

holding the rights of tribal membership. Tribal membership might include white people who had married Indians; it included all who had Indian blood of that tribe, whether mixed with white or black; and after the reconstruction treaties were carried out, it included freedmen or former slaves who had been held by the members of the tribe. The term "citizens" was more properly used to designate tribal members of non-Indian blood.

White Men Invited into Indian Territory. — The federal government had, at different times, expelled white men singly and in groups from the Indian Territory, in accordance with the treaty agreements. But of course as soon as a white man married an Indian, he was immediately entitled to remain in the territory and share in all the property and political benefits of the tribe. Furthermore, the Indians exercised the right of inviting white men into the Indian Territory for the purpose of employing them. As the territory developed, the Indians exercised this privilege more and more, with the result that the white population increased rapidly.

Development of the Indian Territory. — The Indians were forced to grant rights of way to railways through the Indian Territory at the close of the Civil War, as has been mentioned, and railroad building meant an additional influx of white men, in order to build and operate these roads. Along with the railroads came the rapid development of the land, which in turn meant a greater demand for laborers. Then coal was discovered, and coal companies secured leases from the Indians for the development of mines; and coal mines meant other industrial and commercial development. And so, as the years went by, railroad mileage increased, towns sprang up, agriculture flourished, the coal

fields were extended, business and industry grew apace; all of which conditions developed increasing demands for the skilled labor and business ability of the white man.

Railroads and Coal Mines. — It is therefore seen that these two developments, the railroads and the coal mines, with their allied activities, changed the whole aspect of affairs in the Indian Territory and called for a type of service for which the Indian had little taste or training. These activities were preëminently the business of the white man. The development of them meant the enrichment of the land to which the Indians held title, and the Indians were quick to appreciate the fact that the presence of the white man was an essential part of the scheme which was so rapidly to enhance their future material welfare. The day of isolation passed, and the tribal governments granted entrance privileges to white men in large numbers.

Intruders. — In addition to the white men who entered the territory with permits, there also came large numbers without permission. As the former group developed, it became increasingly hard to prevent the latter group of intruders from gaining entrance. The opening of Oklahoma Territory had started a procession of home-seekers toward the Southwest. Those who failed to get homes in Oklahoma or who became dissatisfied there, began to look elsewhere. The artificial line which had been drawn through the center of the old Indian Territory, setting aside the western half for the future Territory of Oklahoma, now proved an insufficient barrier against the overflow from this newly made white man's country. Large numbers of these hardy, restless, and disappointed home-seekers filtered across the line eastward into the Indian country without waiting for invitations.

How the White Population Increased. — Serious attempts were made to prevent white intruders from entering the Indian Territory, and many of these intruders were ejected by the government. But the situation approached that of the "Boomers" of Oklahoma, and the fight against them was a losing fight. One of the Indian agents, in speaking of the ejection of intruders, and their quick return, said that they "took one or two breaths of state air" and returned to the Indian country. It was estimated that there were 6000 of these "unwelcome visitors" in the territory of the Five Civilized Tribes in 1880, and the number increased rapidly year after year. In 1890 Leo E. Bennett, the agent for the Five Civilized Tribes, estimated that there were 140,000 white persons in the territory, nearly half of whom were classed as intruders. The Indian population in this year was given as 70,000, so it will be seen that according to these figures the whites now outnumbered the Indians by two to one. The Indian Territory had ceased to be the distinctive home of the Redman.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. A white man went into the Indian Territory in 1880 and married an Indian woman. Would he have the rights of tribal membership?
2. What factors made for the rapid settling of the Indian Territory by whites?
3. What attempts were made to eject the white men from the Indian Territory?
4. Why were the Indians willing to permit white people to live in the Indian Territory?
5. How many white men were in the Indian Territory in 1890?

CHAPTER VII

PRELIMINARIES TO STATEHOOD; THE TWIN TERRITORIES

Rapid Growth of Oklahoma. — When the Territory of Oklahoma was organized in 1890, it had a population of nearly 80,000. The story has been told of how its area was expanded by subsequent "openings" of surplus Indian lands in the western section of the Indian Territory, until Oklahoma included all the western half and the Indian Territory was restricted to the eastern half of its original self. The territorial period of Oklahoma lasted seventeen years, and at its close the population had grown to 733,000.

Indian Territory is Reduced in Area but Increases in Population. — The Indian Territory, although reduced one half from its original area, grew rapidly in population. In 1890 it had more than twice as many people as Oklahoma. Although its population did not increase in the same ratio as that of Oklahoma, yet the two territories eventually became twins both in area and population. In 1900 Oklahoma exceeded her sister territory by only about 5000 people, and in the year of statehood, 1907, her lead was a shade over 50,000, with a grand total in both of 1,400,000. Never before in the history of the United States had there been territories of such stupendous population which were denied statehood for so long a time.

Government in Oklahoma. — Although there was such great similarity in extent of area and population as to warrant the familiar title of "Twin Territories," there was great dissimilarity in other respects. Oklahoma was an

organized territory; that is, she had a complete set of laws and all the necessary machinery of government. The people elected their own lawmakers, or legislature, and all the local officers. The governor, the secretary, and the judges of the higher courts were the only officials appointed by the President. The laws made by the territorial legislature were necessarily subordinate to those of the national Congress, in which the territory was allowed only the nominal representation of one congressional delegate, who could speak but not vote. Otherwise, and especially for all local purposes, the governmental situation in Oklahoma was quite similar to that of a state.

Indian Territory Unorganized; The Dawes Commission. — In the Indian Territory it was entirely different, its situation being that of an unorganized territory. Here there was no governmental machinery other than that of the tribal governments. These governments operated for the Indians, not for the white people; and as the white population increased until it far exceeded the Indian, the conditions became intolerable. The territory was a sort of mecca or gathering place for numerous "bad men"; the title and transfer of property was insecure.

Congress attempted to meet the situation by a series of measures. The first was the creation of additional United States courts with jurisdiction over crimes committed by non-Indian citizens, together with inferior judicial officers called commissioners, similar to justices of the peace. In 1893 a second step was made by the creation of the Dawes Commission, so called after its chairman, ex-Senator Henry L. Dawes. The main purpose of this commission was to prepare the way for statehood, by clearing up questions of tribal membership, and securing the plan of allotments of

tribal lands to Indians individually and the sale of the surplus lands. The commission also acted as a sort of arbitration and adjustment body for the problems of the white population.

The Curtis Act. — The most important step was the congressional law of 1898 known as the Curtis Act. This act extended the laws of the state of Arkansas, in so far as applicable, to the white population of the Indian Territory. It made provision for the incorporation of towns which could establish governmental machinery and institutions, changed the judicial system, and provided a system of schools in the rural districts supported jointly by private tuition and federal funds. The need of schools for white children had become a serious one, as this was the particular feature wherein the Indian Territory suffered most by comparison with Oklahoma, where a splendid system of free public schools had been established, including the higher institutions of learning. Other legislation followed, virtually abolishing Indian governments.

Why Statehood was Delayed. — Thus by the close of the nineteenth century the Indian Territory, though still classed as unorganized, was actually approaching an organized situation, and the way was paved to statehood, which now was recognized as being only a short distance away. From this time on, the clamor for statehood became louder and louder. No possible excuse for delay could logically be offered respecting Oklahoma, where there was no real Indian problem. As to the Indian Territory, leaders of Congress pointed out that the work of the Dawes Commission should be completed under the sole direction of Congress, without the interposition of a new state government. It was also argued that for the same reason the admission of Oklahoma

should be delayed, so that both territories might be admitted as one state.

It was freely charged, however, that the real cause of delay was a political, or partisan, one. Congress during this time was Republican in politics. The Oklahoma and Indian territories lay in the geographical area of the South, and in the political area of the Democrats. Admission suc-

Granite Quarry, Johnston County. The new state capitol was built from granite obtained here. This scene illustrates, in a way, how lavish nature has been in supplying the young state with mineral wealth, as well as with fertile soil and a wonderful climate.

cessively as two states would mean four additional United States senators, quite possibly Democrats: jointly, as one state, two Democratic senators. Although there was considerable demand for immediate statehood for Oklahoma Territory, with the Indian Territory coming in later as a separate state, such a plan never actually had a chance. It was inevitable that the two should be joined and admitted as one state. And so the period of waiting wore on.

Statehood Conventions in Oklahoma Territory. — The remarkable development of both sections in material welfare and the record-breaking increase in population insured that, whatever the arguments for delay, they could not withstand the insistent and logical demands many years longer. Territorial conventions urging statehood were an almost annual occurrence in Oklahoma after 1900. These gatherings contented themselves with the adoption of resolutions replete with lurid phraseology, insisting on the right of the territory to become a state. Possibly a delegation would be sent to Washington to present these resolutions to Congress or to carry on a publicity campaign in the newspapers of the country at large.

The Sequoyah Convention. — In the Indian Territory a more practical scheme was carried out in 1905. This was the assembling of a constitutional convention at Muskogee, which proceeded in a formal way to write a constitution for the new state, which was to be named Sequoyah, after a famous Cherokee scholar. Of course, this convention had no legal basis, but it was pointed out that California had done this in 1850 and Congress had accepted the constitution and admitted that territory to statehood. No such good fortune attended the Sequoyah constitution, as Congress simply ignored the proceeding. It proved to be what schoolboys would call "a good practice stunt," however, as many of the delegates to this convention were later elected to the real constitutional convention of the new state, and the experience they had gained proved beneficial in securing for them positions of leadership in the deliberations.

President Roosevelt Urges Statehood. — Toward the close of his administration, President Roosevelt, with characteristic insistence and driving power, pointed out

to Congress the folly and unfairness of further delay. An enabling act was pushed rapidly through Congress and signed by the President on June 14, 1906. The Oklahoma and Indian territories were authorized to formulate a constitution for joint statehood. The period of waiting was over. Thus the date, June 14, has a double significance in Oklahoma. Besides being Flag Day, or the anniversary of the adoption of our national flag by the Continental Congress, it is the day which marked the definite promise of Oklahoma statehood.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. How long did the territorial period of Oklahoma last?
2. What differences existed in regard to governmental organization between Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory?
3. Tell something of the government of Indian Territory just before statehood.
4. What reasons would you advance for the long delay of Congress in granting statehood to Oklahoma and Indian Territory?
5. What steps after 1900 were taken by the people of Oklahoma and Indian Territory in trying to secure statehood?
6. Tell something of the work of the Muskogee convention and its results.

CHAPTER VIII

STATEHOOD

The Enabling Act. — The enabling act of 1906 was the legal basis upon which the people were to proceed in the formulation of a constitution. If this constitution were drawn in accordance with the terms of the enabling act, and conformed to the Constitution of the United States, the President was authorized to issue a proclamation declaring

the state established as a member of the Union. The terms of the act specified that in the Indian Territory portion prohibition should prevail for twenty-one years. This was felt to be necessary on account of the Indians. Other features of the enabling act were generally similar to those which had been enacted for the admission of other states.

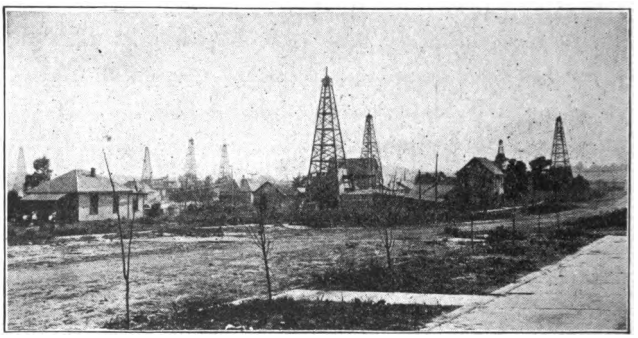
The Constitutional Convention. — It was provided that there should be one hundred and twelve delegates to the constitutional convention, fifty-five from each territory and two from the Osage country. Three officials in each territory were designated to map out the districts from which the delegates were to be chosen, and to provide the election machinery. In Oklahoma these three were the governor, the secretary, and the chief justice; in the Indian Territory, the commissioner of the Five Civilized Tribes and two territorial judges. The convention was to meet at Guthrie, the capital of Oklahoma Territory, which city was to remain the capital of the new state until 1913.

Though it was expected that the Democrats would control the convention, the election was somewhat of a surprise as only twelve Republicans were chosen. This sweeping Democratic victory was looked upon as registering a rebuke to the Republican Party for the long delay of statehood. The convention met and formulated a long and somewhat distinctive constitution, the nature of which is discussed in Chapter I, "Government of Oklahoma," following.

Since the Indian Territory section was required by the enabling act to enforce prohibition for twenty-one years, there was a strong demand in the convention to extend this measure over the Oklahoma section. In the end, however, the statewide prohibition clause was submitted to the voters

separately from the constitution, and was carried by a good safe majority. The constitution itself was ratified at the polls by an overwhelming vote, and transmitted to the President for his approval.

Oklahoma Becomes a State. — President Roosevelt approved the constitution and issued a proclamation declaring that on November 16, 1907, Oklahoma should be recognized as the forty-sixth state of the Union. On this date the full quota of state officers, who had been elected at the same time



Oil fields of Pawnee County, showing how the oil development is crowding up into the outskirts of Cleveland.

the constitution was voted on, assumed their duties, and the new state entered upon its career. This career began under auspicious circumstances so far as the material welfare of the state was concerned. Its population was already approaching a million and a half, and its resources were varied and remarkable. But the problems of government which it faced were not at all simple.

Political Sectionalism. — It seems well that a few of the difficult problems which the new state had to solve should be set forth. In the first place, the state was the result of a consolidation of two distinct territories which had devel-

oped under widely dissimilar conditions. The nature of these conditions has already been described in Chapter VII. The Five Civilized Tribes were from the old South, and a large part of the white settlers had also come from this region. The result was that, politically, the Indian Territory portion of the state was solidly Democratic. Oklahoma Territory contained a much larger proportion of inhabitants from the North, and the majority of the territorial legislators and local officers had been Republicans. As the political leaders in each section were inclined to hold together, the result was a factional or sectional feeling. As the years pass, however, this sectionalism is disappearing.

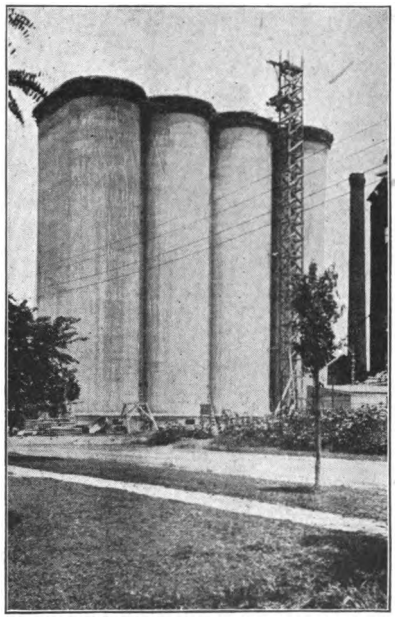
New Schools for the Indian Territory Section. — In the second place, the western half of the state had secured a more fully developed system of schools than the eastern half, and a full complement of higher educational institutions had been established in territorial days. The reasons for this difference have already been explained, but the point of interest to note here is that with the coming of statehood the Indian Territory side felt that it was entitled to an equal share of state institutions. The astute leaders from this section were successful in bringing about the establishment of numerous schools, and this explains the existence of the large number of state educational institutions to-day.

Oklahoma City Secures the Capital. — In the third place, the new state fell heir to an ancient fight regarding the location of the capital which had been waged bitterly throughout a long period in Oklahoma Territory. The territorial capital had been originally placed at Guthrie by act of Congress, and one of the last acts of Congress in its territorial control was to insert a clause in the enabling act,

requiring that the state capital should remain at Guthrie until 1913. Oklahoma City, the most populous city of Oklahoma Territory and the metropolis of the new state, had long waged a losing fight for the capital. Politically it was Democratic and located in the Democratic section of the state, while Guthrie was Republican in a Republican section. The Democrats, who controlled the new state, resented the action of the Republican Congress in placing the capital location clause in the enabling act, and contended that this was in excess of its authority. A fight was immediately started to secure the capital for Oklahoma City; a referendum election was held and the people voted in favor of the change, which was made. Guthrie immediately resorted to the courts, contending that the action violated the terms of the enabling act, and was, therefore, unconstitutional. The matter was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, which tribunal sustained the election.

The Racial Question. — Another vexed question in the new state was the racial or negro question. The proportion of negroes to whites in Oklahoma was not nearly so great as in many of the old Southern states; nevertheless, there were special conditions that made it impossible to maintain harmony. In the reconstruction treaties with the Five Civilized Tribes, the federal government, as has been seen, required that the Indian slaveholders should free their slaves, a requirement that would be expected. But in addition to this, it required that these ex-slaves should share in tribal membership and tribal lands. Suppose that at the close of the Civil War, Congress had required that the plantation owners in the South should divide up their plantations with their former slaves, or that the Southern states should provide free land for all the negroes who had been

held in slavery within their borders! The Southern states resented the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the federal Constitution granting civil and political rights to the negroes, and in various ways the terms of these amendments were successfully evaded. The Indian Territory, however, was held in the firm grasp of the federal Congress for forty years after the beginning of the reconstruction period, and no such chance was allowed for race problems to be handled locally, as in the Southern states.



Grain elevator, Blackwell, showing concrete construction. Blackwell is in the center of Kay County. This county is a veritable "garden of Eden," the richest agricultural section of the state, and a fine wheat-producing area.

As soon as the federal grip was loosened by the advent of statehood, the new state began to show its attitude. Senate Bill No. 1 of the First Legislature promptly became a law, requiring railroads to provide separate coaches and separate waiting rooms for negroes. This was the famous "Jim Crow" law. A second and more drastic measure was the so-called "Grandfather clause," amending the state constitution with a view to preventing negroes from voting. This clause was later declared invalid by the Supreme Court of the United States, as violating the fifteenth amendment.

The race question, like the sentiment of sectionalism between the eastern and western sides of the state, is now thought to be less acute than formerly, as the races have become accustomed and adjusted to their respective positions in the state.

Progress among the People. — On the whole, business, political, and social conditions are becoming much more stable and satisfactory. The state has made wonderful progress. The people understand one another better; mutual confidence among individuals, groups, and sections is becoming firmly established, and a general feeling of harmony and coöperation prevails. The World War has had a wonderfully good effect in welding the heterogeneous mass of our population into a working whole, full of national patriotism, and loyalty to one another and to the state.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

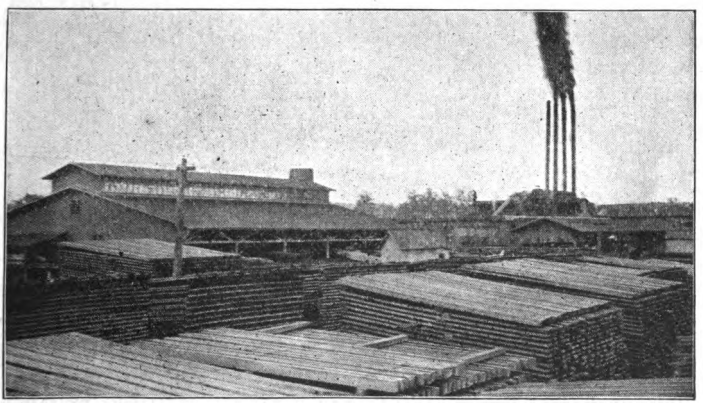
1. Name five men who took a leading part in the constitutional convention.
2. How did the "Grandfather clause" get its name? (Ask any lawyer.)
3. Name all the governors of the state.
4. How many times has the state constitution been amended?
5. Find out the name of a man from your county who was a delegate to the constitutional convention.
6. What was the highest Republican vote cast at the last election for a county officer in your county? Democratic?
7. Find out the dates of admission to the Union of all states which border on Oklahoma.

CHAPTER IX

DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE

Area, Climate, and Crops. — Oklahoma has an area of 70,470 square miles, being larger than any state east of the

Mississippi; and it is located just a trifle south of the geographical center of the United States. Its climate is, therefore, a happy medium between the hot belt of the South and the cold, storm-swept region of the North. This climate makes possible a great variety of crops and is peculiarly well fitted to the business of stock raising. The chief crops are wheat, cotton, corn, oats, barley, alfalfa, kafir corn, and broom corn; lesser crops are sorghum, cow peas, peanuts, and Irish and sweet potatoes. Peaches, apples, pears, cherries, and strawberries are profitable fruit crops. The agricultural development of Oklahoma has scarcely begun, there



Sawmill in Broken Bow, McCurtain County. The lumber business is quite an asset. This mill has been employing as many as 1000 men daily.

being only about twenty-five per cent of the tillable land now cultivated.

Rivers and Timber. — The annual rainfall varies from forty inches in the eastern part of the state to fifteen inches in the Panhandle. Ten rivers water Oklahoma, the two largest being the Arkansas, which passes through the northeastern portion, and the Red, which forms the southern

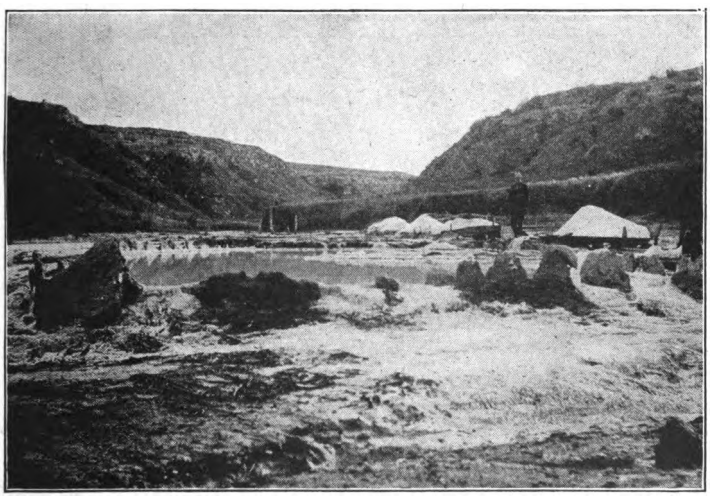
boundary. Some others are the Cimarron, Canadian, Salt Fork, Washita, Verdigris, Grand, and Poteau. Much valuable timber is found in the southeastern part of the state, there being in McCurtain county alone two sawmills which have employed as high as one thousand men each.

Improved Farming Methods. — Much attention has been given in Oklahoma in recent years to better farming methods. The state and the nation have coöperated in the matter of agricultural education. The Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater offers many short courses to farmers and stockmen, and through its extension department carries information to the homes of the farmers. The University of Oklahoma is coöperating in this work with the Agricultural College. Through the United States Department of Agriculture, a new plan of agricultural service has been started by establishing a county agent in every county which contributes a portion of the expense.

The Live Stock Industry. — Stock raising is an activity which has a great future in the state. Much more attention than formerly is now paid to the improvement of types and breeds of live stock. Live stock associations are formed in every county, with a state association taking the lead, and annual live stock shows are held for the purpose of developing interest in this lucrative business. In 1910 the first packing house was built at Oklahoma City by Morris and Company, and in the following year Sulzeberger & Sons, now Wilson and Company, also built a plant. Both these institutions are of the latest modern type, and each has a weekly capacity of five thousand cattle and fifteen thousand hogs. The Oklahoma Stockyards Company developed their plant at the same time; and ever since then "Packingtown" of Oklahoma City has done a thriving business,

adding much to the commercial interests of the city and the live stock interests of the state. During a period of eight years the business of these plants has more than doubled.

Mineral Resources. — One of the greatest assets of the state is its mineral resources. Aside from coal, oil, gas, lead,

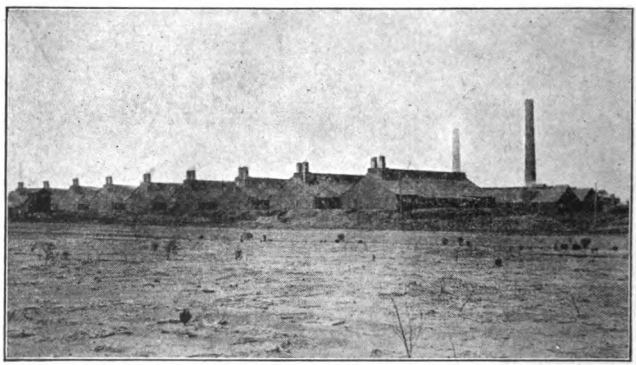


Natural salt works, Harmon County, in the extreme southwestern part of the state. Owing to lack of transportation, only local use is made of the salt, which is obtained by the simple process of evaporation by the heat of the sun.

and zinc, the value and the extent of these resources are little known and less appreciated. Among minerals to which little attention has been paid are the following: asphalt, gypsum, lime and cement, clay and shale, salt, building stone, glass sand, and volcanic ash. Valuable information concerning these materials is compiled by the Oklahoma Geological Survey, at the State University at Norman; and in the future development of the state much wealth will

undoubtedly accrue from proper attention to the vast possibilities of these resources.

The greatest development of the state in recent years has come through her oil fields. The first real production began in 1901 and since that time oil activity has gone forward by leaps and bounds, until at present the oil fields stretch entirely across the state. Oklahoma led the United States



Zinc smelter, Bartlesville. The revenue from zinc and lead for Oklahoma in 1919 was twenty million dollars.

in the production of this commodity from 1915 to 1919, when California again took the lead.

Coal production of Oklahoma in 1915 was three and one half million tons, but in that year the United States Geological Survey estimated that there were seventy-nine billion tons available in the Oklahoma fields. It is, therefore, clear that the coal industry in Oklahoma has scarcely begun. The fields reach from McAlester almost to the north, south and east boundaries of the state.

Oklahoma Sure to Become a Very Rich State. — The mineral output of Oklahoma increased in one decade, 1905 to 1915, from ten million to one hundred and twenty million

dollars. The resources of the state are scarcely touched in many respects. Taken as a whole, therefore, it is beyond question that Oklahoma's varied resources will some day make her one of the richest states of the Union.[1]

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. What rivers flow through your county?
2. Who is the federal agricultural agent located at your county seat? Find out from him the following: (If you can't talk to the agent, write him a letter. He will be glad to answer your questions.)

(*a*) The average annual rainfall in your section of the state.

(*b*) The different types of pure breed cattle raised by your farmers.

(*c*) The value of your leading crops last year.

(*d*) The best method of fighting crop-destroying insects.

3. Name the three leading mineral products of your county.
4. Write a paper on one of the following subjects: the development of new oil fields in Oklahoma during the last five years; the different agricultural products of your county; mineral products of Oklahoma.

CHAPTER X

OKLAHOMA IN THE WAR

Oklahoma Lives up to Her Reputation. — It has been pointed out that Oklahoma became known as the "Sooner" state, by reason of the fact that through vigor, enthusiasm, and efficiency her people accomplish their purpose sooner than might be expected. In performing her part in the great World War, Oklahoma more than lived up to her reputation.

Oklahoma Soldiers. — Of all the great services of patriotism in time of national peril, that which usually takes front

[1] For statistics on Oklahoma Productions, see Appendix.

rank is service in the military forces of one's country. In the great war Oklahoma put into uniform for service a total of 88,496 men. Of this number 22,898 volunteered. The whole number was an excess of more than ten per cent over her actual share, based on her population.

According to official reports, Oklahoma casualties are 6286. The total casualties of the American army reach 272,779. Oklahoma's population is one fiftieth of that of the United States. The total casualties, divided by fifty, give 5455, which would be Oklahoma's share. Hence, Oklahoma exceeded her service quota by more than ten per cent and her casualty quota by more than fifteen per cent.

Oklahoma's Army Larger than Lee's at Gettysburg. — Oklahoma's service in men in the great war can better be appreciated by further comparisons. Had Oklahoma's troops been assembled in one group, they would have been an army more numerous and far more imposing than that with which Lee made his splendid fight at the battle of Gettysburg, one of the greatest battles in history up to that time. Our dead number three times as many as the entire quota of men which both the Oklahoma and Indian territories put into the field in the Spanish war. Shafter's army, which conquered the Spaniards in Cuba, was less than one sixth as numerous as the Oklahoma army in the World War.

Oklahoma Soldiers in Many Organizations. — It would be impossible to enumerate all the organizations in which Oklahoma men served; many of them enlisted in the regular army and were scattered throughout numerous regiments. Every branch of the service and practically all the major units had representatives from Oklahoma.

Certain organizations were made up in whole or in large part of Oklahoma men. The largest all-Oklahoma combat

unit in the war was the 179th Brigade, 90th Division. The 357th and 358th Infantry, a total of over 7000, making up this Brigade, were composed of drafted men from Oklahoma. The Brigade made a splendid record. Starting with the St. Mihiel drive, September 12th, 1918, it remained on the front

Oklahoma-Texas Division Insignia

36th Division
Oklahoma-Texas National Guard

90th Division
Oklahoma-Texas Selective Service men

Division insignia were worn by the troops of the A. E. F. on the left sleeve near the shoulder. Distinguishing marks of this kind were helpful on the battle front, where most of the movements were at night and troops easily became separated from their organizations.

line almost constantly for seventy days, until the date of the armistice. The 90th Division stood seventh in the American army in total casualties, the number reaching 9710.

The Oklahoma National Guard. — The next largest group of Oklahomans serving together was in the 36th Division, in which the old 1st Oklahoma Infantry, National Guard, was consolidated with the 7th Texas, to make up the new 142d Infantry. Three companies of Oklahoma Engineers were joined with Texas Engineers to make up the 111th Engineers of this Division. Four troops of Oklahoma National Guard cavalry were consolidated with Texas cavalry to make up the 111th Ammunition Train, and the old Oklahoma Field Hospital became the 143d Field Hospital of this Division. One of the newer organizations of the Oklahoma National

Guard, the Ambulance Company of Tulsa, went to Europe with the famous Rainbow (42d) Division.

The old 1st Oklahoma Infantry, or what remained of it in the 142d Infantry, suffered severely in a brief campaign with the French army, in the Champagne drive in October, 1918. The total casualties of the regiment reached 1009, most of which occurred in the first few hours of the attack on the first day. The regiment fought gallantly under trying circumstances and was well handled by its commander. Since the 1st Oklahoma is closely linked with the military traditions of the state, extending back into territorial days, the story of its valor and sacrifices in France will be of cherished memory to all Oklahomans.

Brigadier General J. P. O'Neil, the efficient organizer and leader in action of the Oklahoma Brigade (179th Brigade, 90th Division). General O'Neil says, "The Oklahoma Brigade had no superior. I will never see its like again." Coming from a Regular Army officer, not an Oklahoman, this estimate is significant.

War Work by Civilians.—But while the Oklahoma soldiers performed good service, this was only a part of the war record of the state. The civilian population responded nobly. Unless soldiers receive support, they cannot fight. They must be clothed and fed; arms, ammunition, and supplies must be furnished. War is the most costly thing imaginable. When a country goes to war in modern times, the entire population is involved.

Liberty Loans.—In order to provide money for the war, without increasing taxation to an unbearable degree, the United States provided for five large bond issues, called Liberty Loans. By this means private individuals bought bonds, that is, loaned money to the government for a period of twenty-five years or more, taking an interest-bearing bond as the government's note. In this way the people of the next generation help in the war because they, through the National Government, must pay these bonds when they fall due. In these five loans Oklahoma was asked to raise $131,948,350, but she did more than she was asked to do by oversubscribing to the amount of $14,000,000. Besides exceeding their quota in each of the Liberty Loan drives, Oklahoma citizens gave outright to different war work funds upwards of four million dollars.

Colonel A. W. Bloor, commander of the 142d Infantry; the man who with much credit led the fighting Oklahoma volunteers of the old First Regiment in its brief and bloody campaign.

Food Conservation.—Another important accomplishment in helping win the war was the prompt response to the requests of the government in the matter of food saving. An illustration of this is shown by the incident wherein the Federal government asked for 150,000 food pledges from Oklahoma citizens, and they responded by submitting

600,000. One of the remarkable developments of the war in the way of food saving was the practice of home gardening by people of the cities, who utilized their back yards and vacant city lots.

State Council of Defense and Food Administration. — There were a number of people in every county who, through indifference or selfishness, did not live up to the high standard set by the people in general, in contributing money and saving food to help win the war. In order to spur the laggards, prevent profiteering, and enforce loyalty and coöperation, two great state-wide agencies were developed. These were the Federal Food Administration and the State Council of Defense, both of which had a highly developed organization in every county in Oklahoma. The very best and ablest citizens gave their services without any pay to the nation and the state. Never before in the history of the world was such splendid service freely rendered, and attended by such far-reaching results. Sedition was absolutely stamped out, and the slackers were forced to perform their duty. People who were holding wheat and other food products were required to place these on the market at reasonable prices, and no seditious talk or disturbing agitations were permitted.

Another type of civilian war service deserving of special mention was that of the Exemption Boards in applying the draft law. This work was of the most trying nature, demanding a high order of justice, integrity, and moral courage; the responsibilities were accepted in a patriotic spirit, and the labor was performed gratuitously by leading citizens in each locality.

The Force of Public Opinion. — The work of the councils of defense was unique and remarkably successful, since

they operated with little or no warrant of law other than the force of public opinion. The state legislature was not called into session, so the state law during the war was the same as before it. But the strong will of a united and patriotic people was much more effective than any written law would have been without the support of public opinion. This illustrates well the meaning of President Wilson's statement that "the law at any time is what the people think it to be."

The Value of Coöperation.—The lesson of the great war for us is, then, the value of coöperation. The magnificent results obtained throughout the state by patriotic devotion to public service and by united effort will long be felt. No one can foresee the boundless possibilities which may be attained in our wonderful state, if the people will continue to "all pull together."

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Who were the members of your County Council of Defense and County Exemption Board in 1918? Name the County Food Administrator for the same year.
2. How many men in your county were in the army during the war? How many of these were wounded? Killed? Decorated for bravery? Promoted?
3. How many men from your town served in the navy? How many commissioned officers were there from your county? Who was the highest ranking military officer and what was his rank?
4. What is meant by food conservation?
5. What is a slacker?
6. Write a story of an important incident of the war.

PART THREE

THE GOVERNMENT OF OKLAHOMA

THE GOVERNMENT OF OKLAHOMA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Oklahoma: Government and History. — In the first part of this book we learned what the national government does, what the different state and local governments in the United States do, and how these units of government are generally organized. In this part of the book we shall find out what our state and its local governments do, and the means by which they do it.

We cannot well understand the government of Oklahoma without looking back for a few moments at the history that we have just studied. We saw from our brief survey of this history that there are certain things in the development of Oklahoma which have made her different from any other state in the Union. These facts will also, to quite a large extent, explain why the government of the state is different from that of the other states.

Why Oklahoma Developed Rapidly. — We saw, in the first place, that Oklahoma was set aside for an Indian country and for years remained such. The result of this was that white people settled in the states all around Oklahoma long before they had an opportunity to settle here. Texas was an old, well-established state, Kansas was likewise an old state, and Arkansas had had a long history, before Oklahoma was opened for occupation by white settlers. By

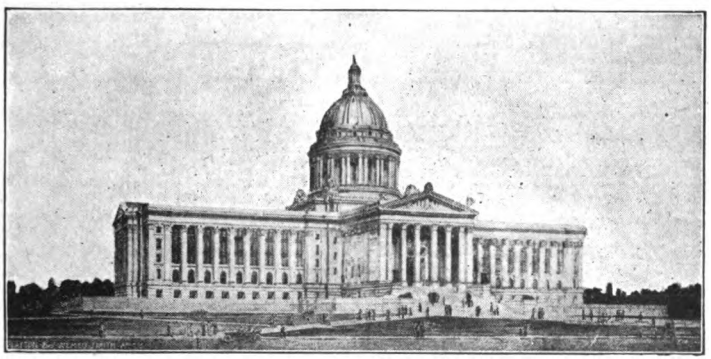
the time white settlement was permitted, Oklahoma was surrounded on all sides by people eager to get into the newly opened country. When the opening came, therefore, people entered in large numbers. Because railroad facilities were highly developed at that time throughout the United States, it was possible for the state to make more growth in a few years than the Eastern states had made in two centuries.

A Representative American State. — But this was not the only thing that made Oklahoma different from most states. The people that came into the state brought with them ideas, manners, and customs of every variety found in our entire country. The Indians, also, who had long lived here had ideas and ways of their own. Therefore Oklahoma is in a peculiar sense a representative American state, in which are found people of every type.

The Constitutional Convention. — The convention which drew up the constitution of Oklahoma was composed of progressive citizens who had come into the state from every part of the Union, as well as Indians who had given up tribal allegiance and had become citizens of the United States. These men had a wide variety of ideas and experiences in regard to state and local government, and they discussed the constitutional problems from many points of view. Naturally they wished to secure for Oklahoma the best constitution which their united efforts could produce.

Special Features of the State Constitution. — The result of their work was a constitution with some rather unusual features. Besides the ordinary provisions of state constitutions, the constitution of Oklahoma contains many provisions that were adopted from progressive states with slight modifications; and some provisions which, because of the peculiar conditions in the new state, are quite new.

The constitution also differs from some of the older state constitutions in that it is much longer than most of them, and contains many provisions that are ordinarily left to the legislature to enact in the form of laws. There were several reasons for this. In the first place, since the days when the older state constitutions were drafted, conditions have changed so that more functions of government are being undertaken than formerly. The citizens of Oklahoma who framed the constitution were extremely anxious that these



The beautiful new Capitol at Oklahoma City, a magnificent building of which the state is justly proud.

newer functions of government should be undertaken by the state.

Moreover, about the time when they were drawing up the new constitution, there was an extreme distrust throughout the United States of legislative bodies generally; hence they did not leave the legislature to determine what kind of work should be done in many instances. On the contrary, by placing definite provisions in the constitution, they made it necessary for the legislature to provide for the carrying out of the newer activities of government.

Again, the constitution was adopted at a time when there was generally felt all over the country a great distrust of corporations. This distrust went to such an extent that the framers of the constitution were afraid that future members of the legislature might not be free from the influence of corporations, and so they expressly provided for their regulation in the constitution instead of leaving this work for future legislatures to carry out.

Another reason for the length of the constitution is the fact that it contains a minute statement of the boundaries of the counties, made necessary by reason of the fact that the Indian Territory part of the new state was unorganized.

New Features of Government. — Some of the newest features of government which the framers incorporated into the constitution are the initiative and referendum, municipal home rule, strict corporation control, some of the newer safeguards of labor, and changes in the administration of justice. All of these will be described in the following chapters.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Explain why the development of Oklahoma has been rapid.
2. In what way is Oklahoma a representative American state?
3. Describe the membership of Oklahoma's constitutional convention.
4. What was the object of this convention?
5. Name several ways in which the constitution of Oklahoma differs from the ordinary state constitution. Explain the reason for each of these differences.

CHAPTER II

LOCAL RURAL GOVERNMENT: THE COUNTY AND ITS SUBDIVISIONS

Counties and Their Elective Officers. — There are 77 counties in Oklahoma. Each of these is an agent of the state for the carrying on of certain functions which we shall discuss later.

There are thirteen elective officers in the county, namely, three county commissioners, a county judge, county attorney, sheriff, county clerk, court clerk, county assessor, county surveyor, public weigher, county superintendent of public instruction, and county treasurer. With the exception of the commissioners, who are chosen by districts, all these officers are elected by the county at large. They are all chosen at the general election which is held every two years in November, and they all hold office for two years.

County Commissioners. — We have seen that every government must have some sort of body to plan its work. This body in the county is the board of county commissioners. As a matter of fact, however, they have few plans to make, as they simply carry out the work that is intrusted to them by the state. They have control over the upkeep of certain highways and bridges, buy and sell property for the county, and perform other duties required of them by law.

Taxation and Administration of Justice. — An important kind of work which the county performs for the state is that of assessing and collecting taxes. We shall learn the details of this work in a later chapter. The county also

handles a part of the administration of justice, as we shall see in the chapter describing this work.

County Clerk. — The seals, records, and papers of the board of county commissioners are kept by the county clerk, who also has the duty of attesting (certifying to the correctness of a document) these records and the orders of the board to pay money. He must preserve all accounts which the board has acted upon, with a record of the action taken in each case. Various other duties are required of him.

Superintendent of Public Health. — Each county in the state has a county superintendent of public health who is appointed by the state health commissioner for a period of two years. He has quite large powers in preventing and suppressing contagious diseases. In case a person has a building, a cistern, or anything else that is a nuisance to the neighborhood, the superintendent may have it done away with or abolished, as it is called. He may also destroy diseased meats and other dangerous or impure foods. If the county or a portion of it has an epidemic of smallpox, influenza, scarlet fever, typhoid fever, or other such disease, he coöperates with the state board of health in putting it down.

County Superintendent of Schools. — The county carries on several kinds of work in connection with the school system of the state. The county superintendent has the right to supervise the schools and school boards of the different districts in the county. He receives reports from the teachers regarding their schools, and also from the various school boards. He makes reports to the state superintendent concerning educational affairs in the county. He has quite large powers in changing school districts, and distributes

to the school districts the money contributed by the state to their support. The county superintendent and two other persons appointed by him form a board of county examiners, who examine teachers in order to see if they have the right qualifications for teaching.

Care of the Poor and Aged. — It is the duty of the county, through the county commissioners, to provide for the care of the poor and aged people who have no homes of their own. This the county does by establishing a poor farm where these people are cared for. In some cases where there are very few poor, the county commissioners instead of establishing a farm may make a contract with some person who undertakes to care for these people for a certain price. This cost is paid by the county.

Many people feel that this should not be a county function at all, but a state function. They point out that there are few poor people in any one county, and it cannot therefore afford to make a proper poor farm; and contracting for the care of the poor has been unsatisfactory. They believe that the state could do the work much better, as it could collect all the poor of the state together at one or more large institutions, where they would have good care and pleasant surroundings.

County Prison. — Every county is required by law to have a prison for detaining persons awaiting trial, those who have been sentenced to jail, those who are awaiting transportation to the state prison, or those who are held in jail as witnesses. The sheriff has charge of these prisoners.

Protection of Live Stock. — The county in Oklahoma coöperates with the state board of agriculture in protecting the live stock of the county from contagious and infectious diseases. Through the county commissioners, it helps to

suppress the Texas fever tick, hog cholera, blackleg, and other diseases. The commissioners may appoint live stock inspectors. The county also, in coöperation with the United States Department of Agriculture, conducts farm demonstration work. In many counties free county fairs are established. The county itself pays for these fairs.

Construction and Maintenance of Roads. — To quite a large extent, the counties look after and build roads within the county. The county commissioners are required by law to designate certain roads in the county as state roads. From ten to fifteen per cent of the county roads are thus designated, and the county must construct and maintain these roads, including the culverts and bridges on them. It is also required to construct all bridges in the county of a span of over twenty feet. Counties that levy a general tax of one fourth of one mill for the construction and maintenance of highways receive aid from the state equal to the tax.

County Surveyor. — Each county has a surveyor, whose duty it is to make surveys of land within his county, either for private individuals, or by order of the district or county courts or the board of county commissioners. He also is charged with surveying and plotting all land owned by the county and surveying county roads.

Public Weigher. — To the public weigher is given the duty of weighing, according to the standard weights of the United States, all cotton, grain, live stock, hay, cotton seed, coal, wood, broom corn, and other products sold by weight.

County Attorney. — The county attorney is charged with the duty of prosecuting or defending on behalf of the state or the county all actions, either criminal or civil, in which

the state is concerned. He is also required to give advice and opinions to county officers upon matters in which the county is interested. He assists the grand jury in examining witnesses or in compelling the attendance of witnesses; and he also draws up indictments — that is, charges of crime — for this jury.

County Sheriff. — The county sheriff is the chief peace officer of the county. It is made his duty to suppress all "affrays, riots, and unlawful assemblies and insurrections." The sheriff may call as many persons to his aid as is necessary for carrying out this work. The sheriff serves as a court officer also, in serving papers that are issued by the courts, and in enforcing their orders.

Court Clerk. — The court clerk is elected by the people of the county. This clerk keeps the records of the county and district courts.

Election Precincts. — The county for certain purposes is divided into still smaller units. For the purpose of holding elections, it is divided into election precincts. Very often the township in the county or the ward in the city is made an election precinct, but either of them may be divided into two or more precincts.

School Districts. — For educational purposes, the county is divided into school districts. The district officers consist of a director, a member of the board, and a clerk, all of whom are elected. These constitute the school board. The county treasurer acts as the custodian of school funds. The appropriations made by the school board must be approved by the county excise board.

School Funds. — Money for the maintenance of the district schools of the state comes from three funds: state, county, and district. The state fund is derived from a tax

levied upon the property of public utilities, such as railroads, pipe lines, and telegraph lines, which operate in more than one county in the state; from rental of school lands; and from the interest on loans. The county school fund is derived from taxation and other minor sources, and the district fund is derived from taxation. The state and county funds are divided among the school districts according to the number of children who are of school age in the district.

Separate Schools. — Separate schools are maintained in districts where there are both white and colored children. Money for the support of these separate schools is obtained by a county tax, and they are supervised by the county superintendent. If there are in a district less than ten pupils, either white or colored, they may be transferred to a school of their own color in an adjoining district.

Consolidated School Districts. — In many cases, in order to obtain better buildings, equipment, and teachers, it seems advisable to consolidate the schools of several districts into one school. This is permitted, provided a majority of those voting at a meeting called for that purpose favor the proposition. Arrangements are, of course, made for transporting the children to and from the consolidated school.

Two or more districts are also permitted to unite for the purpose of forming a union graded school, in which instruction is given in the higher branches of school work. Such consolidation is permitted when a majority of the voters in each of the districts shall vote to unite.

Independent School Districts. — Towns and cities are allowed to form themselves into independent school districts. They may also, with the consent of the county superin-

tendent, incorporate adjoining territory as a part of their district.

Townships in Oklahoma. — In Chapter XV township government in the United States was discussed. When the organic act was passed establishing the Territory of Oklahoma, the Nebraska system of local government, which included township organization, was placed in operation. With the establishment of statehood, the plan was adopted in general for the entire state. Since then the legislature has made changes from time to time until at the present time only a few counties have this form of organization, and we may expect that soon townships will be done away with altogether and their functions will be taken over by the county.

Centralizing the Work of the Government. — When one takes a long trip in an automobile or wishes to haul his produce a long way in motor trucks, he wishes to have a uniformly good road the entire distance. He does not wish to run into a mudhole or a long bad stretch of road in some county or township where the people have been so unprogressive as not to provide good roads. Also, it seems rather foolish for a county to maintain a poor farm for only a few inmates. In many ways it appears that we may have better schools by creating larger units, for we can then get better buildings, teachers, and equipment. Many people, therefore, believe that we should do more to centralize our government: that we should let the state and national governments take almost complete charge of the highways, that all the poor should be looked after by the state instead of the county, that the county instead of the district should be the unit of educational administration.

These are problems that demand our best thought. What

we want is an organization which will perform these services for us in the best way. It should be our aim to assign the work to those units of government which can best do it, whatever they may be.

Oklahoma is following this progressive plan by the enlargement of her school units through the consolidated school districts, by the elimination of township government, and by enlarging the area of road supervision.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Make a list of the elective officers in Oklahoma counties, and write after each title the name of the person now holding that office in your own county. When were these officers chosen?
2. What are the duties of the board of county commissioners? Why is little planning needed for the work of the county?
3. What are the duties of the county clerk? Of the county superintendent of public health?
4. What are the duties of the county superintendent of schools?
5. Under what conditions does the county establish separate schools?
6. How does the county care for the poor and the aged? Why do some persons favor giving this work to the state?
7. What requirement as to a place of detention is made by law?
8. Describe the duties of the sheriff, the court clerk, and the county attorney.
9. Tell how the county in Oklahoma promotes agriculture and good roads.
10. Describe the work of the county weigher and the county surveyor.
11. What are election precincts?
12. What are school districts? Explain the various ways in which school districts may unite.
13. What are the arguments of those who believe in consolidating and centralizing the work of government? In what ways has Oklahoma followed this plan?

CHAPTER III

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN OKLAHOMA

Organization of Oklahoma Cities. — The municipalities of Oklahoma carry on practically the same kind of work as the municipalities about which we have been studying in the earlier chapters of the book. It will not be necessary, therefore, to say anything regarding their activities, but it is worth while to learn something of their organization.

The towns and cities of Oklahoma may for the purpose of our study be divided into four classes:

1. Unincorporated towns.
2. Incorporated towns.
3. Cities of the first class whose governments are organized by general state laws.
4. Cities of the first class which have adopted their own charters.

Unincorporated Towns. — There are a good many small places in the state where there are a few stores and several residences and some few hundred people living rather close together. The people of these places have not yet organized in order to carry on public work, such as maintaining order, paving streets, and providing waterworks. If such enterprises are undertaken, they must be carried out by the cooperation of private individuals and paid for by private subscriptions. No one has power in such a community to carry on works of a public nature within the town, nor can any one be taxed in order to pay for such works. These places are known as unincorporated towns. The laws which apply to their inhabitants are those of state, county, and perhaps township.

Incorporated Towns. — A small community may, however, become incorporated; that is, the state may give it the right to act as if it were a person with certain powers, authority, and privileges. It may make contracts, sue people who break contracts it has made with them, or it may be sued if it does not live up to the contracts it has made. It may own property and manage its affairs just as if it were an individual. By thus becoming incorporated, it is given the authority to build streets, establish waterworks systems, build sewers, and carry on other kinds of public work. It has the right to collect money from taxes to pay for all these things.

No fixed number of people is required for such an undertaking, but there should be enough to make it worth while to carry out some of these fundamental activities.

Method of Incorporating a Community. — A community having less than two thousand people may become incorporated by the following method. A petition signed by not less than one third of the qualified voters in the town is presented to the county commissioners. The commissioners then call an election to find out if the people really want to become incorporated; and in case a majority of the votes cast at this election are favorable to the plan, the commissioners declare the town to be incorporated.

Government of Incorporated Towns. — Incorporated towns are governed by general state laws, which name the officers who shall be selected, determine the manner in which they shall be chosen, explain their powers and duties, describe the rights of the city in respect to the carrying on of certain activities. These towns are governed by a board of trustees, the president of this board being elected by the members from among themselves.

The town is divided into not less than three nor more than five wards, and one trustee is elected from each ward. Besides these officials, there is a clerk who keeps the books and records of the town, an assessor who makes lists of taxable property, a treasurer who receives and pays out the town's money, and a justice of the peace who acts as the judicial officer. The board of trustees appoints a city marshal to enforce the laws.

Cities of the First Class. — Any place of over two thousand population may become a city of the first class by complying with certain requirements. In becoming such a city, it may either adopt the general state laws governing cities of the first class, or it may frame a charter of its own. In case it adopts the general state laws, it is given certain greater powers and responsibilities than those possessed by incorporated towns.

In order to become a city of the first class, a place of the required size petitions the governor to be incorporated as such a city. An election is then called by the governor to determine if the people in that community wish to take on the added duties and powers that are given to a city of the first class. In case a majority of the voters wish to do so, the governor proclaims it a city of the first class, and it henceforth comes under the general state laws governing such cities, unless it wishes to adopt a charter of its own.

Government of Cities of the First Class, under State Laws. — In a city of the first class each ward elects one member of the city council, which is the municipal legislative body. The city also elects a mayor, a clerk, a marshal, a street commissioner, a treasurer, and a treasurer of the city school board. Other officers may be provided by ordinance, that is, by an act passed by the city council. As

a general rule, in cities of less than twelve thousand population the mayor acts as police judge. Larger cities have police judges, or special municipal courts, as provided by state law. The city election is held every other year on the first Tuesday in April, and the officers elected at this time hold office for two years.

The laws or ordinances of the city are made by the council, which is presided over by the mayor. The mayor is responsible for the enforcement of the laws. The duties of the clerk, treasurer, and marshal are just about the same as in the incorporated town.

Municipal Home Rule. — Many people believe that, instead of a city's being organized according to general state law and being given its powers and duties by such a law, it is a better plan for the city to have as much to say as possible in its own government. This is permitted to cities, towns, or communities of over two thousand population in Oklahoma by a constitutional provision which permits such cities to make their own charters, or fundamental law. This privilege is popularly called the right of municipal home rule. Acting under this right, the city can make a charter of its own, determining how it shall be organized, what shall be the duties of its officers, and what it shall do. The charter must, however, be subject to the constitution and the general laws of the state. This means that if the city charter conflicts with the constitution or general laws of the state, the charter provisions must yield.

Charter Government of Cities of the First Class. — About thirty cities of the state have drawn up and adopted their own charters. The method of drawing up such a charter and adopting it is laid down by the constitution, which provides first that a vote shall be taken to determine if the city

wishes to adopt its own charter. In case it does, a board of "freeholders" is elected at the same time to draw up the charter. They prepare a charter, which is voted upon by the people. In case a majority of the people favor the new charter, it is sent to the governor for approval. If he finds that it does not conflict with the constitution or the general laws of the state, he approves it and it henceforth becomes the fundamental law of the city.

The city, however, despite this charter, is not quite so free as it might appear, since there are many state laws governing things in which the state has a vital interest, such as health, education, police, sanitation, and taxation. These are still, to a large extent, controlled by the general laws of the state rather than by the city. The state may also establish several boards, officers, or commissions which have considerable authority over the city, such as the county excise board, the state board of health, and the county assessor.

Forms of City Government under Home Rule. — The cities of the state, acting under the power to make their own charters, have established several forms of government. Some twenty-five of them have established the commission plan such as was explained in Chapter XIV of Part I. Seven or eight of them have established the commission-manager form, and at least one has retained the mayor-council form. The opportunity to organize the city government in accordance with the local needs and wishes is the chief advantage of the "home rule" clause of the constitution. By accepting this opportunity, cities are free from the control of laws made by the legislature in so far as these laws relate to the form of city organization, thus giving such cities a chance to establish their government in accordance with well-established business methods.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Name the four classes into which the towns and cities of Oklahoma may be divided.
2. Describe an unincorporated town.
3. What is the meaning of incorporation? What are the advantages of incorporation?
4. How are incorporated towns governed? On what plan is their government organized?
5. Under what conditions may a municipality become a city of the first class?
6. Explain how cities of the first class are governed, when they do not have their own charters.
7. What is a charter? What is the advantage of a charter?
8. How can an Oklahoma city obtain a charter?
9. What limitations are placed upon home rule cities?
10. How many Oklahoma cities have adopted their own charters? What forms of government have been established in home rule cities?

CHAPTER IV

MAKING THE LAWS; THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

Laws Made by Both Legislature and People. — In most of the states of the Union laws are made by the legislature. This is true in Oklahoma to a very great extent, but the constitution also provides that laws may be made by the people. Those who wrote the constitution believed that at times the legislature might not express the will of the people in passing certain laws, and that at other times it might fail to pass laws that the people wished. In order to be certain that the will of the people should be carried out, the makers of the constitution included measures providing that the

people might both initiate laws — that is, propose laws — and also vote upon laws that were passed by the legislature. These processes are called the Initiative and Referendum. It is necessary, therefore, in describing the lawmaking process in this state to describe not only the work of the legislature in making laws but also the work of the people.

The Legislative Department. — The legislative branch of the government in Oklahoma is composed of two houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The Senate. — The Senate consists of forty-four members elected for a period of four years, one member from each of the forty-four districts into which the state is divided every ten years. In certain cases additional senators may be provided. The members of the Senate must be at least twenty-five years of age and must be qualified electors, or voters, in the counties or districts in which they live. The lieutenant governor acts as president of the Senate, but unless there is a tie he has no vote.

The House of Representatives. — The House of Representatives is composed of more than one hundred members but the number varies from time to time according to the population of the various counties. All representatives must be over twenty-one years of age and must be voters in the district from which they are elected. They are elected for two years.

Work of the Legislature. — The legislature meets early in the January of every alternate year. The length of time that it may sit is not determined by law; but after the first sixty days the pay of members is reduced from six dollars per day to two dollars per day, and the legislature does not as a rule sit much longer than sixty days.

The constitution provides that the legislature shall have general power of legislation, and also specifically requires it to do certain things, such as to provide for a board of health, a board of pharmacy, and a pure food commission.

As is the case in many state constitutions, the legislature is expressly prohibited from passing certain kinds of law. No bill in Oklahoma may become a law unless it has been passed upon favorably by both houses of the legislature. Even then the veto power of the governor may prevent a bill from becoming law, unless it is passed again by a two-thirds majority of both houses.

The Work of the People in Legislation: Initiative. — Because the people believed that their representatives might occasionally fail to pass laws that they wished, or might pass laws that they did not wish, they reserved the right, according to the constitution, to take part in the making of laws themselves. In case a group of people believe that a certain law should be passed, if they can secure the signatures of eight per cent of the qualified voters of the state upon petitions in favor of the proposed law, it is voted upon at the next election, or in some instances at a special election. If the measure passes, it becomes law without further legislative enactment, and the governor cannot veto such a law. The right of the people to propose laws in this way is called the initiative.

Referendum. — If the people disapprove of any law except those that the legislature regards as necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health, or safety, they may hold an election upon the law by securing the signatures of five per cent of the legal voters to a petition. In case they vote against the law by a majority vote, it does

not become a law. The people are also authorized to vote against any part or parts of acts of which they do not approve. This right is called the referendum. Emergency laws which are not subject to the referendum must receive the favorable votes of two thirds of the members of both houses of the legislature, and any such law which is vetoed by the governor cannot be repassed unless three fourths of the members of both houses vote for it. Although the people are not given the opportunity to use the referendum in regard to emergency laws, they may secure the repeal of any such law by use of the initiative, if they wish.

Amending the State Constitution. — The people have the right to propose amendments to the state constitution by having fifteen per cent of the legal voters sign a petition to that effect. In case this is done, the proposed amendment is voted upon; and if it is passed, it becomes a part of the state constitution.

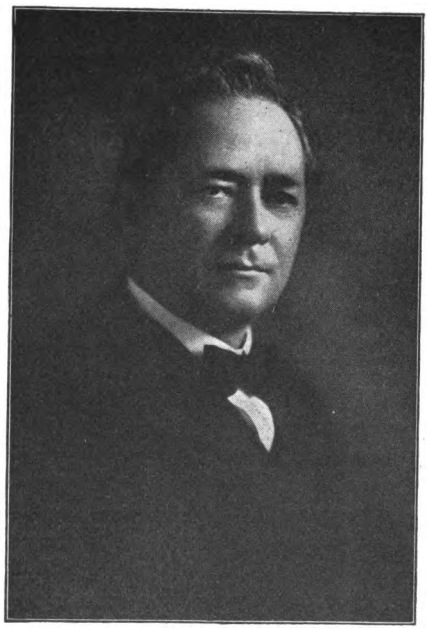
QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. How many members are there in the Oklahoma Senate? What are the qualifications of senators?
2. How is the number of representatives determined? What are the qualifications of representatives?
3. How often does the legislature meet? How long are its sessions?
4. What are the duties of the legislature? When does a bill become a law?
5. Why were the people of Oklahoma given the right to take part in legislation?
6. What is the right of initiative? How is it exercised?
7. What is the right of referendum? How is it exercised?

CHAPTER V

ADMINISTERING THE LAWS; THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

The Decentralized Executive Department. — Unlike the system of the national government, in which the executive power is centered in the President alone, the system adopted by Oklahoma places this power in the hands of various state officers who are provided for by the constitution or may be provided for by law. In most of the other states as well as in Oklahoma, not only the governor, but the secretary of state, the attorney general, the treasurer, and other officers are elected by the people. They, therefore, conduct their departments in accordance with their own wishes or policies, instead of conducting them in accordance with the wishes of the governor.



Charles N. Haskell, leader in the Constitutional Convention; first governor of the State of Oklahoma, 1907 to 1911.

Those who believe in this plan, or the decentralized plan as it is called, contend that it is safer for the people, in that

it makes the officers feel responsible to those who elect them, and prevents the governor from gathering too much power into his hands.

Those who oppose the decentralized plan contend that under such a plan there can be no harmony, as each officer does things in his own way instead of working under one head. Things will not run smoothly, and the work does not progress as rapidly as it should. They also argue that the voters can have no control over the work of these officials, as they have no way of finding out whether it is done well or not. How many voters, for instance, know even what kind of work the secretary of state does, or how many have a chance to see that he is doing it well? Certainly, it is argued, if you cannot find out what kind of work an officer is doing, you cannot pass any adequate judgment upon the officer.

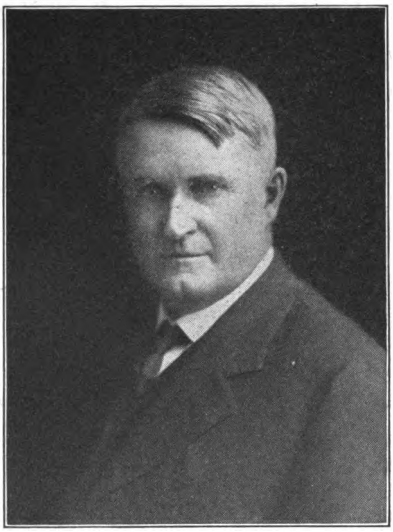
Lee Cruce, second governor of Oklahoma, 1911 to 1915.

The tendency in recent times seems to be toward more centralization in the state government. The advocates of the plan point out that the President's power of appointment has not been abused, that the national government is more efficient than the state governments, and that there is more harmony and unity of action.

The Chief Executive. — As the executive power in Okla-

homa is very much divided, it may be well to learn what officers constitute the executive department and to find out what work they do.

The chief executive of the state is the governor, who is elected for a four-year term and may not succeed himself. The constitution of Oklahoma requires that any person who holds the office of governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, state auditor, attorney general, state treasurer, superintendent of public instruction, or state examiner and inspector must be "a male citizen of the United States, of the age of not less than thirty years, and shall have been three years next preceding his election, a qualified elector of this state."



Robert L. Williams, third governor of Oklahoma, 1915 to 1919.

Duties and Powers of the Governor. — The governor has several important duties, as follows:

1. He commands the militia of the state, except when they are in the service of the United States. He may call them out in order to protect the public health, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

2. He has the power to call together the legislature or the senate only, for a special session. At this session only those laws can be considered which he has recommended to them.

This is a significant power, as it enables the governor to bring things which he considers important to the attention of the legislature.

3. The governor is responsible for seeing that the laws are properly carried out throughout the state. He is also responsible for the preservation of peace in the state.

J. B. A. Robertson, fourth governor of Oklahoma, 1919 to 1923.

4. Immediately upon the assembling of the legislature, the governor gives his message to it. This message, as a rule, names the affairs of the state which should receive the attention of the legislature, and also recommends methods of bettering the affairs of the state. He transmits to each house a full report of each state officer and commission.

5. Another important power of the governor concerns persons who have been convicted of a crime or misdemeanor. He may grant them reprieve or postponement of the punishment; or the lightening of the sentence imposed by the court; or parole or removal of a prisoner from prison and restoration to freedom, on condition that he will live a good, industrious life and meet other requirements. The governor may grant a complete pardon to persons who have broken

the laws of the state and are suffering punishment for so doing.

6. The governor further has the duty of examining and signing, or not signing, all bills passed by both houses of the legislature. In case he refuses to sign a bill, it does not become law unless two thirds of the members of each house, after reconsidering the measure, again vote favorably upon it.

7. The governor has the right to disapprove of any item in an appropriation of money that is made by the legislature. Any item so disapproved is void unless it is repassed by a two-thirds vote. Because of this power, it is possible for the governor to decrease to quite a large extent plans for the spending of money that have been made by the legislature.

8. The governor commissions all officers not otherwise commissioned by law; and in case of a vacancy in an office, he has the right to appoint a person to fill it until some one has been elected or appointed to fill it, unless some other method is provided by law.

9. In case of disagreement between the two houses of the legislature regarding the time of adjournment, the governor may adjourn them.

Lieutenant Governor. — The lieutenant governor must possess the same qualifications as the governor; and he is elected by the people for the same length of time. He acts as the president of the senate, and casts the deciding vote in case there is a tie. Whenever the governor, for any reason, is unable to attend to his duties, his work is looked after by the lieutenant governor.

Secretary of State. — The secretary of state keeps records of the official acts of the governor, signs official documents as a witness, and when requested by the legislature to do so,

gives copies of them to the legislature. In fact, he is the general custodian of state documents.

Attorney General. — The attorney general is elected for the same term and in the same manner as the governor. His duties consist of giving legal aid to the governor and any of the other state departments, and defending or prosecuting any legal proceedings in which the state is a party or has an interest. He also advises county attorneys in matters pertaining to their office. He is made responsible for the examination of all bonds issued by any political subdivision of the state, and he performs other functions assigned him by law.

Treasurer. — The state treasurer is the custodian of the money of the state. He is required to keep an accurate account of all receipts and expenditures. He pays out no money unless authorized to do so by the state auditor.

Auditor. — The duty of the auditor is to examine all accounts that are presented to the state and see if they are authorized according to law, if they are made out properly, if they are figured correctly, and if they really constitute a claim against the state. Any one having a claim against the state presents it to the auditor, who, if he approves the claim, issues a warrant to the state treasurer to pay it. The auditor also prescribes forms for the keeping of records for county clerks, treasurers, and assessors; investigates depositories of county funds; and reports to the state treasurer the assessments of each county. By a law of 1919, the auditor is made responsible for furnishing information to the governor for the budget or general financial plan of the state.

State Examiner and Inspector. — The state examiner and inspector, who is by law required to be an experienced accountant, has the duty of examining the books, accounts,

and cash on hand of the state treasurer and of all county treasurers at least twice a year. He also prescribes uniform systems of bookkeeping for all the state and county treasurers.

Superintendent of Public Instruction. — The state superintendent of public instruction has general supervision and management of the educational interests of the state. He gives opinions to county and city superintendents regarding the interpretation of school laws, visits all the counties of the state at least once a year, and in other ways is charged with the duty of advancing the welfare of education throughout the state. He is a member of the Text Book Commission, a member of the Oklahoma Library Commission, of the School Land Commission, of the State Board of Vocational Education, of the State Board of Education (which is also the Board of Regents for state normal schools), a regent of the School of Mines and Metallurgy, of the Colored Agricultural and Normal University, and of the Miami School of Mines, a trustee of the newly established Teachers' Retirement and Disability Fund, and also a member of the Board of Regents of the Oklahoma College for Women.

Commissioner of Charities and Corrections. — The commissioner of charities and corrections may be either a man or a woman. The duties of the department are to inquire into the conditions of all jails, asylums, poorhouses, orphanages, hospitals, industrial schools, etc., whether under the control of the state, a county, a city, or private individuals. The commissioner is required, upon the complaint of one or more responsible citizens, to investigate the condition of any such institution.

Commissioner of Labor. — The duties of the commissioner of labor are to carry into effect all laws in relation to labor,

passed by the legislature, "in regard to the transportation, mechanical, and manufacturing industries in the state; to supervise the work of free employment offices and factory inspection, and to make recommendations to the governor for the appointments of factory inspectors; to collect, assort, and systematize reports of all persons, firms, or corporations required to report to the commissioner of labor; to compile statistical detailed reports relating to the commercial, industrial, educational, and sanitary conditions of the people included in the mining, transportation, mechanical, and manufacturing industries of the state." The commissioner of labor also settles differences between employers and employees. His term of office is four years.

Mine Inspector. — The chief mine inspector's work is to examine the mines and mining machinery of the state to make sure that the necessary precautions are taken for the health and safety of those working in mines.

Insurance Commissioner. — The insurance commissioner has charge of the enforcement of the insurance laws of the state. He examines insurance companies as to their assets, investments, reserves, etc.

There are numerous other boards, commissions, and state officers which we shall not have time to discuss.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. What is meant by a decentralized executive department? Give the arguments for this plan. Give the arguments against it.
2. Who is the chief executive of Oklahoma? What are his qualifications? Name the present governor of Oklahoma.
3. Name and explain the chief duties and powers of the governor.
4. What are the qualifications and the duties of the lieutenant governor?

5. Explain the duties of the secretary of state; of the attorney general; of the state treasurer; of the auditor; of the state examiner and inspector.

6. What is the work of the state superintendent of public instruction?

7. What are the duties of the commissioner of charities and corrections?

8. Explain the duties of the commissioner of labor; of the chief mine inspector; of the insurance commissioner.

CHAPTER VI

INTERPRETING AND APPLYING THE LAWS; THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

Judicial Department. — Section I of Article VII of the Oklahoma constitution provides that "The judicial power of this state shall be vested in the Senate, sitting as a court of impeachment, a Supreme Court, District Courts, County Courts, Courts of Justice of the Peace, Municipal Courts, and such other courts, commissions, or boards, inferior to the Supreme Court, as may be established by law."

Perhaps we can best understand the court system if we begin at the lowest court and then discuss the higher courts, instead of describing them in the sequence in which they are given in the constitution.

Courts of Justice of the Peace. — The lowest courts in the state of Oklahoma are the justice of the peace courts. Each county in the state is divided into six justice of the peace districts, in addition to those districts composed of towns and cities. In each of these districts a justice of the peace is elected, to hold office for two years. Each city of the state and each incorporated town of over 500 people

has at least one justice of the peace. In all cities of more than 25,000 population, an additional justice of the peace is elected for every 10,000 inhabitants above that number. The courts of the justice of the peace have jurisdiction over civil cases involving small amounts and over petty offenses and misdemeanors.

County Courts. — The next highest court is the county court, which is presided over by a county judge, elected for a term of two years. This court has jurisdiction over civil cases involving not more than one thousand dollars, and over criminal actions where the penalty is not more than a fine of two hundred dollars or imprisonment in the county jail. It also has jurisdiction in respect to wills, and general supervision over those appointed by the court to look after the property of deceased persons, and of minors, idiots, and others mentally incompetent to look after their own affairs.

Superior Courts. — In counties of the state which have a population of over 30,000 and which contain a city having 8000 inhabitants or more, superior courts are established, having very much the same jurisdiction as the county courts, except in cases having to do with wills.

District Courts. — Above the county and superior courts come the district courts. For the purpose of organizing these courts, the state is divided into twenty-eight districts, in each of which a district court is located. The term of a district judge is four years. Regular terms of the district court must be held in each organized county in the state at least twice each year. These courts have large powers. They are able to try any case, whether civil or criminal, unless such a case has been specifically conferred by the constitution or laws upon some other court. These courts

also have considerable powers in issuing the great writs [1] of habeas corpus, mandamus, injunction, etc. They have wide appellate jurisdiction, that is, the right to review the decisions of lower courts.

Criminal Courts of Appeals. — The criminal court of appeals is the court of last resort, that is, the court having final decision in all criminal cases. Its jurisdiction extends all over the state. No cases are brought before this court for the first hearing; it hears only appeals from lower courts. The state is divided into three criminal court of appeals districts, known as the eastern, northern, and southern districts. In each of these districts a judge is nominated and then is voted for by the people of the state at large. The court itself is composed of three judges, two of whom constitute a quorum. At least two judges must concur in an opinion to make a final decision. This court is highly important, for with it rests the responsibility of reviewing cases that involve long prison terms and life or death.

The Supreme Court. — The supreme court is the highest court of appeal in all civil cases. This court has general supervising control over all inferior courts, and all boards and commissions that are created by law.

This court originally consisted of five judges elected for a term of six years, but it has since been increased to nine judges. The chief justice of the supreme court is elected by the members of the court itself and holds office for two years. While this court has the power to hear many original cases, yet most of its work is concerned with appeal cases. A law of 1919 provides that this court may sit in two divisions, that is, it may carry on its work in two

[1] See Beard, C. A.: *American Government and Politics*, pages 302–307.

places at once, with some of the judges serving at each place.

The Supreme Court Commission and Referees. — In order to clear up the cases that had accumulated, the legislature of 1911 authorized the establishment of a supreme court commission, whose work was to assist the supreme court. In 1917 the commission was increased from six commissioners to nine. One commissioner was selected by the governor from each supreme court district, and four were selected from the state at large. This commission was not renewed by the 1919 legislature, but two referees were provided for, to be appointed by the court, and to do such work as is assigned them by the court.

Jury Commissioners. — Juries are selected in Oklahoma by a body known as jury commissioners, consisting of three men in each county appointed by the district judge. These commissioners meet on the first Monday in January and July of each year, or at other times when the district judge thinks that it is necessary; and they select for the district court a list of not less than two hundred names or such other number as the judge orders. They then select another list of two hundred other names of jurors for the county court. Whenever it is necessary for a district or county court to have a jury, names are drawn from these lists to determine who the jurors shall be.

Improvements in the Judicial System. — The Oklahoma constitution has made some important changes from the ancient practices of the older states in the administration of justice. The usual requirement of securing an indictment before proceeding in the prosecution of a person charged with a serious crime has been modified in Oklahoma so that such trials may proceed on *information*. This means that

instead of requiring that a grand jury must investigate charges brought against a person and then recommend to the court that the person be tried, all that is necessary is a sworn statement by a reputable person or persons made before a judicial officer, charging that a certain crime has been committed and showing reasonable grounds for the trial of the accused. It can easily be seen that proceeding by information is much simpler and causes much less delay than the older method.

In county courts and those not of record (that is, courts where the cases tried are so unimportant that no detailed official account of the proceedings is kept), the jury has been reduced to six; and in all civil cases, and in criminal cases less than felonies, three fourths of the whole number of jurors may by agreement render a verdict. In all other cases, however, the older practice of requiring a unanimous verdict is retained.

The grand jury has been reduced from twenty-four to twelve. This is the body that investigates felonies, in order to determine if a person should be tried in the absence of "information." Any nine of these jurymen agreeing may bring in an *indictment*, or a statement that in their opinion there is sufficient evidence to warrant the trial of a person for a crime.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Why is it necessary to have a system of courts in the state?
2. What are the duties of a justice of the peace?
3. John Smith owes Tom Jones $875. What court would try the case?
4. John Smith wins the above suit. In what court might an appeal be taken by Tom Jones?
5. Richard Doe is indicted by a grand jury for stealing horses.

Before what court will he be tried? In case he is convicted, before what court can he appeal his case?

6. What is the difference between the indictment and the "information" procedure?

CHAPTER VII

CHOOSING OFFICERS; VOTERS, PARTIES, AND ELECTIONS

Selecting Candidates. — There is little use in trying to choose between two candidates for office if neither of them is a man of ability, integrity, and force. The problem, therefore, of nominating men to be voted on later is just as important, if not more important, than is the problem of electing them. The method of securing the right kind of candidates for office is a matter of great importance.

Party Conventions. — For many years in the United States candidates were chosen by party conventions. Owing to the fact that the best men stayed away from these conventions and they were dominated by petty politicians, very poor men were chosen for party candidates. As a result, people who believed in decent government sought for some other method of nominating candidates.

Primary Elections. — The method generally chosen is known as the primary election. It was the belief of those who advocated this plan that if the people themselves were allowed to choose the candidates by voting for them, they would secure good and able men for office.

This was the view of those men who established the Oklahoma constitution. They provided that the legislature should enact a primary system which should provide for the nomination of all candidates in all elections for state,

district, county, and municipal officers and for all political parties.

This the legislature has done. Under this system, elections are held at which the people vote for those whom they believe will be desirable candidates for the public offices. The voting is done in much the same way as in the regular elections and is just as much under the control of the state. Any person desiring to become a candidate for office can do so by petitioning the proper election officials. All nominating petitions for the most important offices must be filed with the secretary of the state election board, while nominating petitions for county and township officers are filed with the secretary of the county election board.

Election Boards. — In order that the voting at both the primary and the regular election shall be carried out properly, the state has established a state election board and county election boards. The state election board consists of three members, not more than two of whom may be of the same political party. Nominations for this board are made by the political parties themselves. Each of the two political parties casting the highest number of votes at the last general election has the right to select and present to the governor names of as many as five electors. From the two lists, the governor makes his choice of three members.

The county election board consists of three members and is chosen by the state election boards. Each county election board in turn appoints a precinct election board, which has actual charge of the voting at the different precincts.

Weakness of the Primary System. — In the opinion of many people, the primary system of selecting candidates has not proved much more successful than the convention

in getting the right kind of men as candidates for office. Small cliques of people may favor a nominee and by much advertising may push his campaign, although he may not be the proper person for the place. In many instances an unqualified individual, by expending a great deal of money in campaigning, may secure the nomination. Again, no party stands responsible for a candidate, as in the convention system. The cost of the primary system is great, and it takes the time of the voters. Finally, the people have not taken so much interest in attending the primaries as they should. While the system is perhaps good in theory, it has not been nearly so successful in securing the nomination of worthy candidates as was expected.

Some of the fault of the system, undoubtedly, has been due to the lack of support of the best people; and without this support no system of government will work well. With the loyal support and coöperation of the best people, either system of nomination would work fairly well.

Qualifications for Voters. — The constitution of Oklahoma followed the usual plan of other states in establishing the qualifications for voters. These are, briefly, that one must be a male citizen of the United States by birth or naturalization, twenty-one years of age, a resident of the state one year, of the county six months, and of the voting precinct thirty days. People of unsound mind, criminals, and paupers are not permitted to vote. In 1918 the constitution of Oklahoma was amended, granting women the right to vote on the same basis as men.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. What are some objections to the convention system of nominating candidates?

2. What was the belief of those who established the constitution of Oklahoma, regarding the value of the primary system of selecting candidates?

3. Has the primary system of selecting candidates proved successful? Explain your answer.

4. What part must a citizen play in government in order to make it work well?

5. What are the qualifications for voting demanded by the state of Oklahoma?

CHAPTER VIII

PAYING FOR THE GOVERNMENT; TAXATION AND FINANCE

Financing the State. — Where does Oklahoma get the money to pay for all the different activities that she is carrying on? How is it collected, and how is it expended? These are the questions that will be answered in this chapter. We shall find that the state revenue comes from several places.

General Property Tax. — The most important source of state revenue, as well as the revenues of all the subdivisions of the state, consists of the general property tax — a tax levied upon practically all property in the state. There are, of course, certain kinds of property that are exempt from taxation, such as property used for free public libraries, museums, and churches, property of the United States, and household goods, tools, implements, and live stock belonging to the head of a family and not exceeding one hundred dollars in value.

How is this tax collected? Practically all of this work, except the taxation of public utilities, minerals, oils, automobiles, and certain minor items, is done by the different

county authorities. They do the assessing, the equalization of individual assessments, and the collection of the state, county, and city taxes, as well as those levied by school districts or other subdivisions of the state.

Assessing Property. — The first step in securing money to carry on the public work consists in finding out what property is located in the county. The assessor does this by visiting each city and voting precinct in the county, beginning on the fifteenth of January. He receives from the taxpayers statements as to the amount and value of property owned by them that is subject to the general property tax. When he has compiled the property lists from the statements thus given him, he lists also all property that has not been reported voluntarily, adding a penalty for failure to report as required by law. He then turns these lists over to the county commissioners. In case any individual taxpayer feels that his property has been assessed unfairly, he may ask the commissioners to change the assessment. If the commissioners believe that the property has been assessed unfairly, they have a right to raise or lower the assessment.

Rate of Taxation. — The county excise board, which is composed of various county officials, now divides the total assessed valuation into the total amount to be raised by the property tax, to find out how much must be paid on every dollar's worth of property. This is called the rate of taxation or the levy.

After the excise board has fixed the tax rate, it gives it to the assessor. The assessor multiplies the value of each person's property by this rate, in order to determine how much each one owes in taxes. He then delivers the tax roll (the list of all the people liable to taxation, with the

amount of the tax of each) to the county treasurer, who collects the tax.

Collecting the Property Tax. — The county treasurer is responsible for the collection of the general property tax for the state, the county, cities, and school districts. He also collects any other moneys that are due the county. Every month the county treasurer pays over to the state treasurer, and the city and school district treasurers, the money which is due them.

The state examiner and inspector is required to examine twice a year, without previous notice, the books of each county treasurer, to see that they are kept in the proper way and that the treasurers have faithfully cared for the moneys under their control.

Gross Production Tax. — The second important source of state revenue is found in the gross production tax. This is a tax of a certain per cent on all minerals and oils produced in the state. The tax at present is one half of one per cent upon minerals and three per cent upon crude petroleum products. Two thirds of this tax goes into the general fund for the expenses of the state government, and one third is distributed to the counties from which the tax was collected, to be used for the aid of common schools and for permanent roads and bridges.

License Fees. — Another tax from which the state receives a good deal of revenue is the automobile license fee. A license fee of $10 is charged for each automobile and motor cycle, the manufacturer's list price of which equals $500 or less. There is added to this license fee seventy-five cents for each added hundred dollars valuation. There is also a tax upon motor trucks that is graduated according to their capacity. This license fee is reduced twenty

per cent each year for three years on all automobiles, except certain motor trucks which have been licensed for two successive years in the state.

Other Sources of Revenue. — The state receives a revenue from inheritance taxes. The amount of this tax depends upon the relationship between the person inheriting and the one granting the inheritance, and also upon the amount of the inheritance.

Oklahoma also levies taxes upon incomes, but does not derive so much money from this source as many of the other states.

The property of public utilities — that is, railroads, electric light plants, etc. — is not assessed by the county but by the state board of equalization. The money received from them is distributed among the different units of the state in which their property is located.

The state receives money from several other sources, such as corporation taxes of various sorts and taxes on foreign insurance corporations.

Expenditures of the State. — It may be interesting to note the kinds of work for which Oklahoma spends her money. A summary of her expenditures for 1919 is as follows:

General government . .	$ 916,489.86 or	55 cents per capita
Militia and armories . .	92,266.62 or	6 cents per capita
Regulation	528,336.68 or	31 cents per capita
Administration of justice .	258,728.41 or	15 cents per capita
Agriculture	730,707.67 or	44 cents per capita
Health and sanitation . .	47,127.66 or	3 cents per capita
Highways	1,476,906.63 or	94 cents per capita
Charities, hospitals, and correction	1,966,443.28 or	1.18 cents per capita
Schools and education . .	1,663,978.20 or	99 cents per capita
Recreation	1,509.60 or	less than $\frac{1}{10}$ cent
General	5,000.00 or	less than $\frac{1}{2}$ cent

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. What is meant by the term "general property tax"?
2. Trace the steps taken in the assessment, levy, and collection of the general property tax.
3. The total value of the property of X County is $10,000,000. The total expenditures of the county for next year will be $20,000. How would you determine the tax rate, or levy? After determining how much the tax rate is, figure how much tax your father will have to pay if he owns farm land worth $6000, horses and cattle worth $1800, and $2000 worth of implements and household furniture.
4. What are the functions of the county treasurer?

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION

Expenditures for Education. — By far the greatest single expenditure made by Oklahoma, or by almost all the other states, is made for the purpose of educating the people. In 1917 the amount of money spent on education by the various states averaged 37.8 per cent of their total expenditure. In the same year Oklahoma expended for this purpose $2,437,866; that is, about 43.7 per cent of all its expenditures was devoted to education. In the same year the per capita expenditure in Oklahoma for this purpose was $1.09, which is slightly less than the expenditure of the average state for this purpose. We can see, therefore, that education is in a monetary way, as well as in other ways, one of the most important works that the state does.

The State Educational Work. — We must next answer the question, "What kind of educational work does the state carry on?"

In general, the state has a large degree of control over all the public schools and other public institutions of learning in the state. Through the superintendent of public instruction, the state board of education, and the boards of regents of other institutions, it exercises its power of supervision over the educational interests of the state. It passes laws governing the minimum amount of education, military training, the minimum length of the school year, the qualifications of teachers, the examination of teachers, and many other things that affect the schools of the state generally. The state requires that all children between the ages of eight and sixteen years be sent to school 66 per cent of the school term, unless physically or mentally unfit. If a widowed mother is unable to send her children to school the specified time, the county is required to assist. Free textbooks are purchased by the county for children whose parents or guardians are financially unable to provide them.

The state contributes quite a large sum of money to the public schools and also maintains preparatory schools, normal schools, technical schools, agricultural schools, and universities. The preparatory school at Claremore stresses military training, while at Tonkawa commercial work is emphasized. Schools for delinquents and dependents are maintained, as will be discussed in a later chapter.

Normal Schools. — In order that teachers may be properly trained, the state provides six normal schools, located at Ada, Alva, Durant, Edmond, Tahlequah, and Weatherford. The state also trains teachers at the State University and permits counties to establish county normal schools. It has always been believed in the United States that the education of the people is the hope of our democracy. Education, however, is not possible without highly trained and

efficient teachers. A state can do no greater work than seeing that all its teachers are capable of really instructing its young people in the best way possible.

Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations. — The state and the national government together do a great deal in giving the people of the state an agricultural education.

Stock judging at the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater. These students are learning the points of a good horse for farm use.

Beside the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater, where excellent training is given in all branches of agriculture, stock raising, stock judging, domestic science, and engineering of various sorts, there are several minor agricultural schools and experiment stations in the state. As Oklahoma is a large agricultural state, has many different kinds of soil, and is capable of producing a great variety of

agricultural products, the importance of this work cannot be overestimated. The agricultural colleges and experiment stations enable the farmers to adapt crops to their various kinds of land, teach them how to care for and feed stock properly, and how to market their products in the best way. The state also maintains an Agricultural and Normal University for negroes, located at Langston.

Schools of Mines. — The state maintains two schools of mines, one located at Wilburton and the other at Miami, where students can prepare to enter the mining business. The school at Miami was established by the 1919 legislature. The resources of minerals in the state are so large that the training of those who can successfully carry on mining and oil production is of great importance to the welfare of the state.

The Woman's College. — For the young women of the state who do not wish to go to a coeducational school, the state has provided a Woman's College located at Chickasha.

The State University. — The State University, located at Norman, gives the regular college work and training for the professions, such as law, medicine, engineering, and journalism. It also gives training for those who wish to go into governmental work of various sorts or who wish to go into business. The university not only tries to educate the people who are able to attend it, but through its Extension Division and Bureau of Research and Information it does much to help educate and give information to those who are not able to attend the university regularly. The Extension Division publishes bulletins on live public questions, which are distributed widely over the state; it gives courses of study to those who wish to study by correspondence; it also sends lecturers throughout the state and lends books and lantern slides to those requesting them.

The Bureau of Research and Information makes investigations for city officials or others interested in municipal problems, answers questions, and edits a quarterly bulletin devoted to governmental problems.

Through its educational institutions, Oklahoma hopes to do four things: help all of her citizens produce more and so make them more prosperous; help them in the art of enjoying life; teach them how to coöperate better; and make them better citizens.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

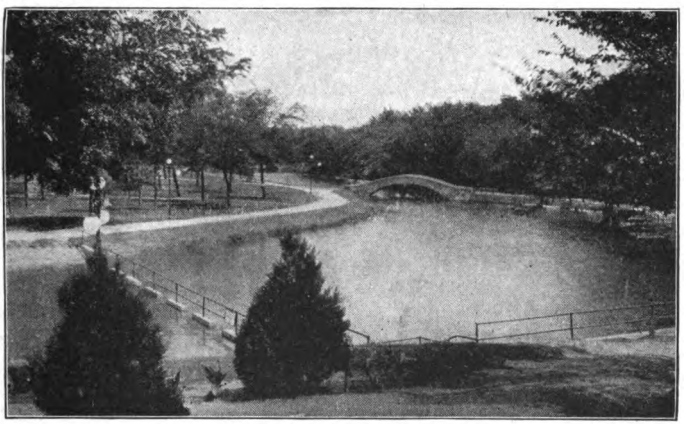
1. How does the expenditure of Oklahoma for education compare with the expenditures of other states?
2. In what ways does the state government control and regulate education?
3. John Clark is thirteen years old and is working in a grocery store instead of going to school. His mother claims that she is so poor that without his work she cannot feed the family. What would you advise her to do?
4. Two farms lie side by side. Both of them have good soil but it is a little sour. One farmer has never attended an agricultural school, while the other has. Which of them will be likely to know what to do?
5. If you wished to get material for a debate, where would you send for it?
6. A city official wishes to find out concerning the experience of other cities in feeding garbage to swine. Where in the state of Oklahoma might he get this information?

CHAPTER X

HEALTH

Expenditures for Public Health. — One of the things which the war has taught us is that the preservation of the health

of the people is one of the most important enterprises that a government can undertake. While in the past years Oklahoma has not given so much attention to this work as she doubtless should have done, she is awaking to the necessity for carrying on such activities. This is shown by the fact that for the year 1918–19 she appropriated only about



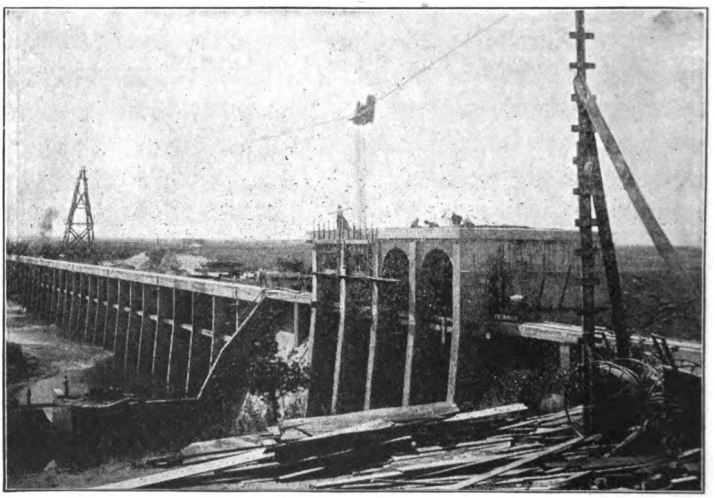
Government Springs Park, Enid. This is one of the many beautiful natural parks now available in Oklahoma. Our young cities would do well to follow the example of Enid and secure playground space for the children of the great cities of the future.

$60,000 for such activities, while for the years 1919–21 she appropriated over $131,000.

State Board of Health. — The general care of the health of the people of the state is intrusted to a state board of health, at the head of which is a commissioner appointed by the governor for a four-year term. He has power to enforce needful rules and regulations for the prevention and cure of contagious, infectious, or malarial diseases. He may quarantine or isolate persons suffering from such diseases. He has power to condemn or to cause to be destroyed any

diseased or impure food that may be offered for sale, and he may remove or destroy any substances that may injure the health of persons or animals.

The commissioner also has general supervision over the several boards of health in the cities, counties, villages, or towns of the state. He has the power to establish rules and



Portion of concrete dam of the recently constructed waterworks system of Oklahoma City. The lake formed by this dam covers hundreds of acres and holds seven billions of gallons.

regulations for the keeping and reporting of statistics regarding births, deaths, marriages, and divorces.

Every county in the state has a county superintendent of public health, who is appointed by the state health commissioner. His duties are to enforce state laws in regard to health and to carry on other functions for the benefit of the public health in his own county.

Protecting the Water Supplies. — The board of health

has charge of protecting the water supplies of the various cities and towns of the state. This it does in several ways. In the first place, the law provides that the state board of health shall examine water supplies in order to see if they are chemically pure or if they contain any disease germs. In the second place, no waterworks system in the state is allowed to be constructed without a permit from the state board of health. It has the power to determine whether the supply is pure and whether it is being treated in the proper way.

In the third place, no sewer system may be constructed without the permission of the state board of health. It determines whether the system will really guard the health of the public or whether it will contaminate streams of water that others must use.

Tuberculosis. — The legislature of 1919 established three sanitoria for the treatment of persons having tuberculosis. Those who are able to pay for room and board are required to do so. Those who are not may be admitted upon the request of the county health physician, the public health nurse of the sanatorium, or the state board of health. The county from which the patient comes then pays the state a fixed sum for his board, care, and treatment. Free dispensaries are also established, where people may come for examination.

Health of Factory Workers. — The state tries to secure healthful conditions for those who work in factories, by requiring that all factories shall have proper plumbing and drainage, shall have good ventilation, and shall have wash rooms and toilet rooms. No persons who have certain diseases, such as tuberculosis or scrofula, are allowed to work in factories manufacturing foodstuffs. The hours of

women and children working in factories are limited by law. These factory laws are enforced by the state factory inspector.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. If all the people of one nation are strong and healthful and vigorous, while those of another nation are continually ravaged by disease and so are weak and ill a great deal, which nation will succeed the best in war and in commerce?
2. What are some of the chief powers of the commissioner of health in Oklahoma?
3. In what ways does the state help to keep the supplies of drinking water pure?
4. If one of your friends had tuberculosis, what would you advise him to do?
5. Why is it necessary to prohibit those afflicted with certain diseases from working in factories manufacturing food?

CHAPTER XI

CARE OF DELINQUENTS AND DEPENDENTS

Persons Whom the State Must Care For.—Oklahoma, in common with all the other states of the Union, maintains places where she keeps in confinement or supports persons who by their actions have shown that they are not capable of living properly in general society; and also those who through inherited weakness, misfortune, or other causes are not able to support themselves.

It will be the purpose of this chapter to tell very briefly what these institutions are, what they do, and where they are located.

Training and Reform Schools. — The first class of these institutions consists of industrial and training schools where

are sent those boys and girls who through bad environment, weakness of character, or other causes have done deeds showing that they are started on the wrong road. The school for boys of this type is known as the State Training School for Boys and is located at Pauls Valley. There are two schools for delinquent girls: one for white girls located at Oklahoma City and another for colored girls located at Taft.

Those young people who are a little older and have been convicted of a serious crime may be sent to reform schools. The state maintains two of these: one for whites located at Granite and one for negro boys at McAlester.

The Penitentiary. — The second class of state institutions consists of penal institutions, where are sent older persons convicted of serious crimes and offenses. The state penitentiary is located at McAlester. Here are sent grown persons who are convicted of crimes punishable by imprisonment. The convicts are required to work. In case of good behavior, the prison sentence may be shortened considerably, according to a scale laid down by law.

Care of the Insane. — The third class of state institutions consists of those for the care and treatment of the insane and the feeble-minded. There are three of these institutions for the insane, located respectively at Norman, Vinita, and Supply; and there is an institute for the feeble-minded at Enid.

The Blind and the Deaf. — Another class of institutions consists of schools for the care of the blind and the deaf. The school for the blind of the white race is located at Muskogee, and the Colored Deaf, Blind, and Orphan Institute is located at Taft. A school for the deaf is maintained at Sulphur.

Orphans and Dependent Children. — There is an orphan's house at Pryor Creek. This is a home for white children of

sound mind and body under sixteen years of age who are dependent on the public for support.

The state maintains a home for dependent and neglected children at Helena. Here such children are retained until they can be placed in family homes, or as long as the Board of Education thinks it to their interest to remain in the state home.

Old Soldiers. — Besides these institutions, the state also maintains two homes for old soldiers. The Confederate Home is located at Ardmore and the Union Soldiers' Home is located at Oklahoma City.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. A boy of fifteen is convicted of stealing chickens. What may be done to him?
2. Where would a man of forty-five be sent if he was convicted of robbing a bank?
3. Where are the state institutions for the care and treatment of the insane located?
4. Write to the schools for the blind and the deaf, asking for their catalogues or reports. Read these carefully, and discuss in class the work of these schools.

CHAPTER XII

REGULATION OF BUSINESS

Kinds of Business That Must be Regulated. — There are certain businesses which, because of their nature, must be particularly regulated by the state. Some businesses are monopolistic in nature or have a tendency to become monopolistic; that is, they can be conducted most efficiently under one management. A half-dozen telephone companies

in a town, for example, would be a great inconvenience, as the people served by each company would be unable to talk with those served by other companies. Businesses of this nature must be controlled for the welfare of the public, or they may increase rates or decrease services so as to injure the people as a whole. Any business which uses the public highways in particular ways, such as street car lines, pipe lines, and electric lines, must be carefully regulated in order to protect the streets and the people who use them. There are other kinds of business, such as banks and fire insurance and life insurance companies, that must be regulated differently from ordinary businesses, because they have certain great responsibilities in respect to the money intrusted to them, or because those who invest money with them are particularly liable to suffer if such institutions are not managed properly.

The state of Oklahoma, in common with most of the other states, regulates all such kinds of business in ways that it does not employ in regard to enterprises such as the dry goods business or the shoe business. This regulation will be considered in the present chapter.

Public Utilities. — Let us first examine the kinds of business known as public utilities. These are businesses which are naturally monopolistic in character, which use the public streets or property in special ways, or which are of such great public necessity as to require special regulation. Examples are the railroads, electric light plants, telephone and telegraph systems, street railroads, pipe line companies, gas companies, and express companies.

The body that has charge of regulating "transportation and transmission" companies (that is, companies which carry passengers, goods, messages, etc.) and other public

utilities in Oklahoma is the corporation commission. This commission consists of three persons who are elected at the general elections of the state and who hold office for a term of six years. One commissioner is elected every two years. These commissioners must have been residents of the state for at least two years preceding their election, and must be not less than thirty years old. No one is eligible to this office who has business interests in any public utility.

The powers of this commission are very great. It has power to fix rates, charges, and classifications of traffic. It has the authority to require public utilities to establish and maintain such public services as are just and reasonable. If a person or group of persons believe that they are being charged too high a rate by a certain public utility, they may make a formal complaint to the commission. The commission then has a hearing, at which both sides may be represented. After this hearing, the commission lays down a rate that it considers reasonable. In case the company believes the rate is unreasonable and so low as to make it impossible to do business profitably, it has a right to appeal to the supreme court, where a new trial is held.

Banking. — The state regulates banking in particular ways through its banking department. Any one can see that a banking business should be regulated differently from some other kinds of business, for the reason that banks hold people's money in trust, and also because the failure of banks injures all business in a very wide way. The state constitution, therefore, provides that the legal rate of interest shall not exceed six per cent per annum in the absence of a contract, and shall not exceed ten per cent even if agreed to by both parties. The state has also established a "depositors guarantee fund" to protect depositors against bank

failures. Each state bank contributes annually one fifth of one per cent of its average daily deposits to a fund which is in charge of the banking department. If any bank fails, instead of the depositors losing, they are paid out of this fund. The state also examines all state banks from time to time and has them make reports to the banking department.

The banking department is under the control of the bank commissioner, who is appointed by the governor for a term of four years. He is given the right to regulate and control all state banks and all loan, trust, and guarantee companies, under laws made by the legislature.

Insurance. — Insurance is another business that must be regulated in special ways for several reasons. In the first place, an insurance company to a large extent acts as a trustee; that is, it is intrusted with money which an individual pays to the company, with the expectation that the company will repay a certain sum in case of death, accident, the burning of a building, or certain other events. Because an insurance company holds great sums of the people's money to be paid to them upon such an event, it must be held strictly accountable for handling that money in such a way that the person insured will have the benefit for which he has paid. Another reason for holding insurance companies more strictly accountable than the ordinary business is the fact that in many cases the people to whom the money is due upon the occurrence of a certain event, such as death, are women and children who may not be able to protect themselves against unscrupulous and greedy men.

The state, therefore, has established an insurance commissioner, who is elected for a term of four years. The functions of the commissioner are to see that insurance companies conduct their business properly, that they keep their reserve

funds intact in order to pay claims made against them, and that they invest their money in such a way that it will not be lost through speculation.

Mining. — Because of its special danger to workers, the mining business is regulated by the state in special ways. The state requires all mines to be properly ventilated and properly timbered, provides that explosives shall not be stored in mines in such a way as to cause danger, and makes other similar requirements.

The regulating of the mines is under the control of the chief mine inspector, who is elected for a term of four years. No one can be elected to this office unless he is a practical miner of at least eight years' experience. The state is divided into mining districts in charge of assistant inspectors, who are under the general control of the chief mine inspector.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS

1. Suppose one man owned all of the gas supply of the state and there were no public regulation of gas, what price could he charge for gas?
2. Why should the state regulate a street railway in respect to its rates and service, when it does not regulate dry goods stores?
3. John Smith dies, leaving a wife and five young children. For the past ten years he has paid into an insurance company $200 a year on premiums on an insurance policy. If the insurance company had been allowed to invest all its money in oil stock, what might happen to Mrs. Smith and the family?
4. In what ways is mining regulated in Oklahoma?
5. Why should banks be regulated differently from grocery stores?

APPENDIX

STATISTICS OF OKLAHOMA

Indian Population of the Present Oklahoma Area

	1844	1855	1866	1879	1907
Cherokees	25,911	17,530	14,000	19,000	41,798
Chickasaws	4,111	4,787	4,500	5,800	10,889
Choctaws	12,410	16,000	12,500	16,000	26,615
Creeks	24,594	25,000	14,000	14,260	18,702
Seminoles	3,136	2,500	2,000	2,443	3,124
Other tribes	736	765	2,140	19,274	15,603
Totals	70,898	66,582	49,140	76,777	116,731

Note. — The above figures are based on reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Department of the Interior, and House Executive Documents of the years indicated.

It should be borne in mind that many of those included in the population of an Indian tribe at a given time are not Indians, but simply those who have acquired the rights of tribal membership. Thus, the Cherokee population of 1907 is given as 41,798.

These figures include:

Full bloods	4,925
Mixed bloods	6,601
Freedmen (former negro slaves)	286
Intermarried citizens (whites and others)	29,986
Total	41,798

Extent of Separate Areas, in Acres, within the Indian Territory in 1866 and 1878

Prior to and following the cessions acquired by the reconstruction treaties

	1866	1878
Cherokees (including the outlet)	13,172,235	12,275,913
Choctaws	19,032,174	6,588,000
Chickasaws	(Included in above area of Choctaws)	4,650,935
Creeks	6,998,808	3,215,495
Seminoles	1,682,174	200,000
Quapaws, Senecas, Shawnees (Near Missouri-Kansas border)	212,298	122,591
Plains Indian Reservations		10,348,625
Unassigned lands, portion of the Creek-Seminole cession, which became known as "Oklahoma" and later formed the nucleus of Oklahoma Territory		2,339,029
Area between the forks of the Red River, portion of the Choctaw-Chickasaw cession, claimed by Texas but finally assigned to Oklahoma by decision of Supreme Court of the United States; previously known as Greer County		1,511,576

State Institutions

Higher Education

Institution	Location
University of Oklahoma	Norman
Agricultural and Mechanical College	Stillwater
Oklahoma College for Women	Chickasha
Colored Agricultural and Normal University	Langston

NORMAL SCHOOLS

INSTITUTION	LOCATION
Central State Normal	Edmond
Northwestern State Normal	Alva
Southwestern State Normal	Weatherford
East Central State Normal	Ada
Northeastern State Normal	Tahlequah
Southeastern State Normal	Durant

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Cameron State School of Agriculture	Lawton
Connor State School of Agriculture	Warner
Murray State School of Agriculture	Tishomingo
Panhandle State School of Agriculture	Goodwell
Oklahoma State Business Academy (Formerly University Preparatory School)	Tonkawa
Oklahoma Military Academy (Formerly Eastern University Preparatory School)	Claremore

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

School of Mines and Metallurgy	Wilburton
Miami School of Mines	Miami

SOLDIERS' HOMES

Confederate Soldiers' Home	Ardmore
Union Soldiers' Home	Oklahoma City

DEFECTIVES, DELINQUENTS, AND DESTITUTE

Central Oklahoma Hospital for the Insane	Norman
East Oklahoma Hospital for the Insane	Vinita
West Oklahoma Hospital for the Insane	Supply
Institute for the Feeble Minded	Enid
School for the Blind	Muskogee
School for the Deaf	Sulphur
State Training School for White Boys	Pauls Valley
State Industrial School for White Girls	Oklahoma City
East Oklahoma State Home for White Children	Pryor

Institution	Location
West Oklahoma State Home for White Children	Helena
State Training School for Colored Boys	McAlester
State Training School for Colored Girls	Taft
Deaf, Blind, and Orphans' Home for Colored Children	Taft
Penal Institutions	
State Penitentiary	McAlester
State Reformatory	Granite

Statistics: Population and Industries

Population

The rapid growth since statehood (1907) is shown here:

	1907	1910	1915	1918
Population	1,414,177	1,657,155	2,114,307	2,377,629

The figures for 1907 are those of the special census taken at the time of statehood by the federal government in order to determine the basis of congressional apportionment. The 1910 figures are those of the regular decennial census by the federal government. The figures for 1915 and 1918 are those given out by the Federal Census Bureau.

More than one third of the Indians of the United States live in Oklahoma. During recent years this population has remained almost stationary, as shown below:

	1907	1910	1915	1918
Indians in Oklahoma	117,129	117,088	118,558	119,175

These figures are taken from a United States statistical abstract.

Railway Mileage in Oklahoma

(Exclusive of spurs and switches — United States statistical abstract)

	1907	1910	1915
Miles	5579	5980	6405

Oil

The developed oil area of Oklahoma covers about three fourths of the state. From Kay County it extends east along the Kansas

line to Craig County; thence south to the center of the state, where the field widens out eastward, touching the Arkansas line in Le Flore and Sequoyah counties; thence in a southwesterly direction to the Red River and west to the Texas Panhandle.

Oil production in Oklahoma is shown in the following table (figures from United States Geological Survey):

	1907	1910	1915	1917
Barrels . . .	43,524,128	52,028,718	97,915,243	107,507,471

In 1915 and 1917 Oklahoma produced more oil than any other state in the Union, and approximately one fifth of the oil produced in the entire world.

Coal

According to the United States Geological Survey, the coal area of Oklahoma covers all or portions of twenty-seven counties, extending westward from the Arkansas line toward the center of the state, where it widens out north to the Kansas line and south almost to the Texas line. The estimated amount of coal available in this area is given at 79 billion tons. The United States Geological Survey gives the following production figures from Oklahoma coal mines:

	1909	1915	1917
Long tons	2,785,158	3,693,580	3,916,855

Farm Production in Oklahoma

The following figures, taken from the reports of the United States Department of Agriculture, show something of the development, since statehood, in Oklahoma farming:

	1907	1919	Percentage of 1907
Crops			
Corn (bushels)	113,265,000	74,400,000	65
Wheat (bushels) . . .	8,631,000	52,640,000	650
Oats (bushels)	6,270,000	49,500,000	790
Potatoes (bushels) . .	1,960,000	3,529,000	180
Barley (bushels) . . .	654,000	1,500,000	230
Cotton (bales)	864,000	930,000	107
Hay (tons)	470,000	1,540,000	327

	1907	1919	Percentage of 1907
Live Stock			
Horses and mules	744,000	1,017,000	136
Milch cows	338,000	550,000	163
Other cattle	1,814,000	1,300,000	72
Hogs	1,588,000	943,000	60
Sheep	60,000	131,000	218
Total Values			
Leading crops	$114,958,000	$425,923,000	370
Live stock	116,998,000	214,181,000	183

Conclusions

Corn was the only one of the main crops which fell off during the period, showing a decrease of	35%
Hogs, the type of stock dependent primarily on corn, decreased	40%
Hay production increased	327%
Sheep, which may be kept on hay, rather than corn, increased	218%
Milch cows increased	163%
Range (or other) cattle decreased	28%

This feature shows the gradual change from the ranch farm to the dairy farm.

Average increase in crops was	336%
While the crop value increase was	370%
The number of live stock decreased	11%
While the live stock value increase was	183%

Two facts are to be noted in this connection:

1. While these figures show an increase in price of farm products, resulting from the war, it is well to note that such increase is not nearly so great as that of finished products, such as flour, sugar, meat, clothing, etc.

2. In respect to live stock, the value increase, in spite of a decrease in number, shows the remarkable improvement in *type* and *grade*, in twelve years.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

PREAMBLE

We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

SECTION 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes [1] shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.[2] The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

[1] See the Sixteenth Amendment.

[2] See the Fourteenth Amendment.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker, and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.[1]

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to

[1] See the Seventeenth Amendment.

day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objection at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration, two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States;

and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States.

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post-roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions.

To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; — and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into

execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.[1]

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and impost, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships-of-war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

SECTION 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four

[1] See the Sixteenth Amendment.

years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding any office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors [1] shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President; and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

[1] See the Twelfth Amendment.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: — "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at

stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; — to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; — to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; — to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; — to controversies between two or more States; — between a State and citizens of another State; [1] — between citizens of different States; — between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein,

[1] See the Eleventh Amendment.

be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

AMENDMENTS

Amendments I–X were adopted in 1791; XI in 1798; XII in 1804; XIII in 1865; XIV in 1868; XV in 1870; XVI and XVII in 1913; XVIII in 1919.

ARTICLE I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war and public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the

crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against any of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate; — the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such

majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President, shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be appointed among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such

male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV

SECTION 1. The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII

SECTION 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

SECTION 2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

SECTION 3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII

SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SECTION 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX[1]

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

[1] Now before the States for ratification.

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